

The First

Additional Volume

TO THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

Grand Rebellion.

BY EDWARD Earlof CLARENDON.



LON





HISTORY

OFTHE

REBELLION and C. VIL WARS

IN

IRELAND,

WITH

The true State and Condition of that Kingdom before the Year 1640; and the most material Passages and Actions which since that Time have contributed to the Calamities it hath undergone.

Written by the Right Honourable

Hyde k

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of England, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

The Attestation of the present Arch-Bishop of Dublin; as it is written with his own Hand in a M. S. now in his Grace's Library, with which this Book has been carefully compar'd, and found to agree Word for Word. "This Vindication, as I was inform'd by the Late Lord Clarendon, was written by his Father Lord Chancellor Clarendon (if I remember right) at Cologne, with the Assistance of the Duke of Ormand; and by the Help of Memoirs, surnish'd by the said Duke; I had it from Captain Baxter, a Servant (I think Steward) to the Duke of Ormand, in the Year, 1686.

LONDON:

Printed for J. WILFORD, at the Three-Flower-de-Luces in Little-Britain, MDCCXXI.



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and build any ability, as well as with that tithe ole Pitie forma in a Parmenio, a Hannibal, a Zamo-

ski) a Farneze, a Went worth, a Hopton,

HAT the Author of these fotlowing Memoirs was the great Earl of Clarendon, the Writer of that incomparable History of the great Rebellion, the zea-

lous Defender of the Church of England, in his Remarks on Hob's Politics, his De-fence of Dr. Stillingfleet against the furious Attacks of Serenus Creffy, and his Plea for his lawful Sovereign, Charles the First of glorious Memory, against the infamous Scandals cast upon him by a Crew of hardned and graceless Rebels, will appear to any one, who with findement compares the Style of those several Pieces together, there's the same Smartness, the fame Impartiality, the Came Spirit of Christianity runs thro them all, and they were all written with the noblest Design to the World.

A 2

His

His Duty being paid to the Memory of his Royal Master, whose Defence could be better undertake, than his, who had been one of the greatest, and one of the most saithful and loyal Subjects in the British World; one who had silted the Place he held with that sufficiency, that steaddiness, and indefatigability, as well as with that wonderful Address, inimitable Patience, and honest Policy, which might perhaps be found in a Parmenio, a Hannibal, a Zamoski, a Farneze, a Wentworth, a Hopton, and some sew others, whose gallant Actions sill the unblushing Records of Fame, but in the present Age, may be sought for everywhere in vain.

Honest Loyalty, untainted with either Popish or Phanatic Principles, had been for many Ages so inseparably annext to the Family of the Botclers, that Merit only had raised them to the Titles of Earl, Marquess, and at last of Duke of Ormand: They had been always faithful to the Crown of England, always active in its Service, against the tumultuating, and too easily rehelling Irish their Country-men; and this great Man, in whose Vindication my Lord Clarendon writes, had suffer a all the Scandal and Obloquy, all the Abuses and Affronts, and all the Losses of his mighty For-

Fortunes, both from Papists and Enthusiastic Rebels, which Madness or Malice could
instict upon him; yet, neither could the
Rage of infatuated Roman Big ots, nor the
heavy Menaces of prevailing and successful Rebels, nor the Decoys or Wheedles of the
Children of Disobedience shock his Faith in the
least; or make him deviate from the Rules of
Honour and Conscience, or Loyalty, or perswade him to betray the Trust his gracious
Master had put into his Hands, to save his
own Stake, or to secure his precipitating
Fortune.

When the infatiable Malice of two re-bellious Houses of Parliament had forced that excellent Prince Charles the First, to sacrifice that admirable Minister of State, the Lord Strafford, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to their Moloch of Discontent, and then brooding Villainy; the Affairs of Ireland were in a dangerous Condition, the Irish Army order'd to be disbanded, the transporting of them into the Service of other Princes, the best way to prevent their doing Mischief at Home, forbidden, the King under a Necessity of making one his Lieu-tenant who was no way competent for the Charge, and yet bindred by various Artifices from sending him. These things compell d his Majesty to depute the Marquess of Ormond as the fittest Person in that whole Kingdom

The PRETACLE.

dom, to take care of all Affairs there, till the Lieutenant could personally attend his Office; for that compassionate Prince's Heart bled with his poor bleeding Protestant Subjects, the rescue of whom, the committed to the Gare of our pretended Patriots, that they might have no Negligence to be complained of on the King's Part, being in plain Terms deserted, the high Rebels permitted to go on mardering and destroying the poor Protestants with Imponity, and indeed without any Opposition; but what was made with the weak and ill-accourted, but the admirable Vigilance and Conduct of the Marques of Osmond.

Who were the first beginners of those barbarous Murders, and borrid Maffacres committed in that Kingdom, is casely determind, by comparing the Accounts on both Sides in the Appendix: But subsever began them, perhaps no Age, or Nation in the It ald ever endural so terrible, a Comage as that miserable Kingdom, then when it was a theral Aceldama, and the Sereums of Blood rising every Day higher. The Lords. Justices of Ireland, who have given us an imperfect and very partial Account of Tranfactions there, feem to have taken proper Menfares to enaperate the Nations against the English transplanted thisber, as of they were so secure of baffling the Rebels when they

The PREFATE

they pleas'd, that they wish'd they might go on uncheck'd for a while, that the forfeited Lands might be the more, and the Nation attain to Peace; only by the Vastness of the Desolation; and of all this, their own Account of their own Management, gives too many, and too observable intimations.

What could be the Reason else, why the Lords Justices sould define but twenty Co-ples of those Proclamations, by which the Iris then in Arms were declard Rebels, with all the Promises of Goodness to such as return d in due time to their Obedience to their Sovereign, and all agreeable Menaces to the Obstinate; as if they were afraid the poor Wretches should be too well appris d of their Hopes, and of their Danger; and yet when the King sent them double more than what they defired, the Skeleton of a factious Rout in the English Parliament could charge their Sovereign with that Fear, as if he had been unwilling to fix the Name of Rebels upon those barbarous Murderers; doubtless it would be hard to give a satisfactor, Reason for so base a Juggle, unless Matters were managed by the Lords Justices in concert with the Rebels of England, by that Stratagem to enhaunce the Revenuen, and to render the best of Princes. adjous to bis too little considering Subjects.

for

However, the Lords Justices behaved themselves as to the Civil Concerns, the Army under the Marquess of Ormond, how inconsiderable soever it was, held the Rebels at bay; and when his dear Master's Interest sunk beneath the amazing Success of the English Rebels, he, according to those Instructions he received from his Master, endeavour d'a Cessation of Arms, since a Victory over the Rebels, without Men, or Mony, or Ammunition, was insecsible; that at least, the poor Protestant's might have some time to breath, and the Return of the Irish to their Duty to their Prince, might at least amuse, and give a check to the Progress of the English Rebels, and might in some Measure bave attoned for the innocent Blood they had shed.

None could apply him to this Work with more Prudence or Industry, than the Marques, nor was the State of Things at that Time, capable of any Turn more advantageous either to Prince or People; but it was an Attempt which the Devil and wicked Men could not think of with Patience.

Those who were in the Interest of the English Rebels, fell foul upon this great Man, as if he had been one ready to betray the Protestant Cause to the popish Irish, and were all for

for carrying on the War, the the Lords Justices themselves had sufficiently inform'd them of the Impossibility of doing so, in the midst of all the Necessities the few Troops on foot in Ireland then labour'd under, and they were so far from furnishing that little Army with what they wanted, that both Men, Money and Ammunition, pretendedly got together for that important Service, were made use of to strengthen and carry on the unnatural Rebellion against their lawful Sovereign at home; but they were so apprehensive of the Marques's Wisdom, Valour and Conduct, that they were frequent in their Attempts to draw him from his dear Master's Service, either to their own, or to a quiet Retirement to foreign Parts: All which Attempts proving vain, they endeavourd to expose his Honour and Reputation, and to make him little better than a Papist in Masquerade, and fit to be run down npon any Terms what soever.

But the greatest Enemies the Marquess had, were by Providence made his irrefragable Compurgators: The Pope's Nuncio Reinuccini, and the popish Bishops, who sometimes pretended to extraordinary Loyalty, and to defend the Rights of his Majesty against Sectaries and Enthusiasts; who were ready to promise any thing, and who were as desirous that his Majesty should be thought an Abetter of their inhuman Barbarities, as either Bax-

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The PARTACE.

(B)

mouth a Enemy of their admirable Prince's unspotted Reputation; but there has been so their and full a Vindication of that Prince's Honour; by the Pens of others, as well as this noble Author; that the Mulice of that putid Pable is obvious to every sober good Man, and for the Sentiments of factions Brutes and Rebels, they are the Honour of every Man who falls under them.

The Polities of the Court of Rome, are generally supposed to be of the most resident Complexion of those of any Court in Europe; yet he that considers the Conduct of the Legate from that Court in France, during the stourish of the How League, or that of Remuccini in Ireland, would conclude, they had pick dont a couple of mad Men to carry on a Design, which, whether good or bad, could never prosper in such Hands. The attempt for a Cessation of Arms between the Protestants and Papists, was doubless with a Design to stop that Issue of Blood, which had been aroun out so very profusely, and that there might, if possible, be some room for Mercy for those informan Criminals; but the Nuncio was for building Castles in the Air, setting up a chimerical Popish Monarch in Opposition to the Principles of the soberest and most learned Writers of their own Church; for Exercising such a Power, both in Temporal

tal and Spiritual Matters, as no Emissary of Rome in the most bigatted Nations ever pretended to before, the popish Bishops showd themselves the most perficious and infatuated Creatures that ever God permitted perverted Nature to produce; Law, Reason, Conscience, real Salf-Interest, Religion, signified no more with them than the Harmony of the Spheres, or thundring with Caunon Balls against a Heap of Wooll-Sacks; Lying, Swear ing, and Forswearing, were their only Virtues; and the miserable Multitude managed by them with incontroulable Sway, were like the Turkish Asapi at a Siege, crowded upon Rein in Heaps, only to blunt the Swords of the blood-thirsty Enemy; and none might ask them more than they might the Pope, when he pracipitates Millions into Hell, what doest theusen out it his old from and

The Nuncio and Bishops could not consider in Ormond, because he was a Protestant, yet in spite of all their malicious Endeavours, they could not prove him guilty of any Breach of Promise to them; but they had taken abundant Gare to let the Marquess know, their Principle was, That no Faith was to be kept with Hereticks; and by their Persidy, they brought several of their own Order to ruin. Reinvocant was fain to run for it, so was his given Friend Forms; several of them came to the Gallows, attended with all the Gruelty and

and Ignominy, the prevailing English Rebels could fix upon them; they ruin'd their Sove reign and themselves, by their obstinate Stupidity and Treachery, and they had their Reward.

And however they laid the Fault of their pernicious Conduct upon the Marques's being a Protestant, they provid themselves the same infatuated Creatures under the Conduct of the Marquess of Clannickard, a Papist, as zealous as they could wish him; they were insensible, untractable Rebels, they'd neither lead nor drive; they were ambitious to be undone; and those who would have said them from themselves, were the chief Objects of their Scorn and Hatred; they belong d to the Hospital of Incurables, and their Humour has been follow'd by too many of the fame Persuasion since their Days, nor would they be recover d out of it, but by hellish Atheifine, a Remedy, if possible, infinitely worse than the Difease.

Rebellion was begun in those Days by the Presbyterians in Scotland, God scourged them by the Hand of the brave and valiant Montrosse; but they would not return to their Duty, God therefore gave them a dreadful Visitation by the unsparing Swords of Cromwell and Monk, who throughly reveng d the Quarrel of their lawful Sovereign upon them. The

The Butradt.

The Present eviant of Local Charles of Eneland, follow a the noble Puttern of theor Northern Brethren, they revelled against their Prince, they prevailed, made him a Profoner, till at last be was barbarously murder doth the Pace of the Sun, his Posterby banifo a ; but they were punish a by the lame Hand, and kick'd out of all their Universed Power by the Independents and Anabaptifts, till they began to ligh again for that Liberty they had so long enjoyed under the Protestion of him, whose Hereditary Right the Crown thefe Kingdoms was. The Papilts that rebelled in Inclared, were gutter of a thouland execrable Cruekters evere obfinate and irrectainmable Rebets; no kind Treatment, no Arguments, no Force could reduce them, till God took Vengeance into bit own Hands, permitted the Trips to murder and deferor the English and Scots; the English and Scots to retaliate all their Cruelty upon the Wish with Fire and Sword, that they seem to have been at by, who should prove themselves the most barbarous; who should shed the most Blood, God revenging the one upon the other, by their boon Hands, almost to the Extermination of the abbole Irish Race; such Means does God frequently oindicate his own Justice of and make the Sin of the Wicked their most terrible Punishment.

moirs the lively Pourtraiture of a wife Man.

a faithful Counsellor, a valiant and cautious General; a pious Subject, a true Lover of bis Prince, the Laws, and his native Country; a real Patriot in the Person of that excellent Man, the then Marquess, and afterwards worthily created Duke of Ormond; cleared from all that Dirt, which the Envy of degenerate Souls, and the Enemies of their Country had endeavour'd to fix upon him: Those Things which had been slubber'd over, or spitefully misrepresented by other Historians, set in a true Light; the incessant Endeavours of this Great Man to serve his Master, and the Interests of the English lawful Monarchy, and the Madness of Men bewitch'd by a Spirit of Bigothy and Insensibility, which bindred the Success, and the Hand of God which was so wishby stretched out against that foolish and wicked Nation.

The noble Author of these Memoirs, with the Earl of Southampton, and the Duke of Ormond, were three such able Ministers of State; so united in their bonest Designs, and so faithful to the true Interest of their Master Charles II, that till the Envy of Men, and Women of ill Principles, and scandalous Bebaviour, prevailed upon that Prince to break the Knot, and to have a lower Respect for their Persons; neither Papists nor Phanatics, could ever have so far deformed the miraculous Beauties of the Restauration of our

Religion; that threefold Cord was not easily broken, but when it was. Hell soon broke loose, and made the Way too open for those publick Calamities which these Nations have since ground under,

But by this Time it may be expected by the Reader, that some Account should be given of the Genuiness of what is here recommended to his Perusal; and though, as it was before observed, whoever reads it with Judgment and Attention, may eafily discover the Spirit of the Noble Author in every Page; yet for his further Satisfaction, I Shall Subjoin a Passage or two from Dr. Nalson, which will put the Matter beyond all Doubt. Among other Historians who had taken Occasion to treat of the Affairs of IRELAND before bim, he makes this Observation on Botlase, "That be is an Author of such strange Inconsist-" ency, that his Book is rather a Paradox " than a History, and it must needs be so; " for I know not by what Accident, the Copy of a Manuscript, written by the Right. " Honourable the late Earl of Clarendon " happening to fall into his Hands, he has " very unartfully blended it with his own rough and unpolish'd Heap of Matter, &c." Which Charge may easily be made out, by comparing Dr. Borlase's History with that which is here first faithfully and entirely Printed

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Printed from the genuine Manuforist, free from the Abufes a Copy of it fullation is by the unfair Dealing of the afore and Millonan. That Dr. Nation Had been oblig d worth my Lord Clarendon's Original Copy, by the Duke of Ormond bimself, is apparent from the second Volume of his Collections, where be takes several Pages from it, which be. fairly acknowledges, and fums up in the follocoing Words, Court which I shall close this Preface), or Thus far this excellent Author, er whole Words, though not exactly accommodated to the Period of Time, I have thought fit to infert here, because they give the Reader a Landscape, or short Map of all the Tragical Actions which fill a the Scene of Ireland with Blood and Defotaor tron; and will be of excellent the to the understanding of many future Passages of that and our open miserable and bleeding Mation.



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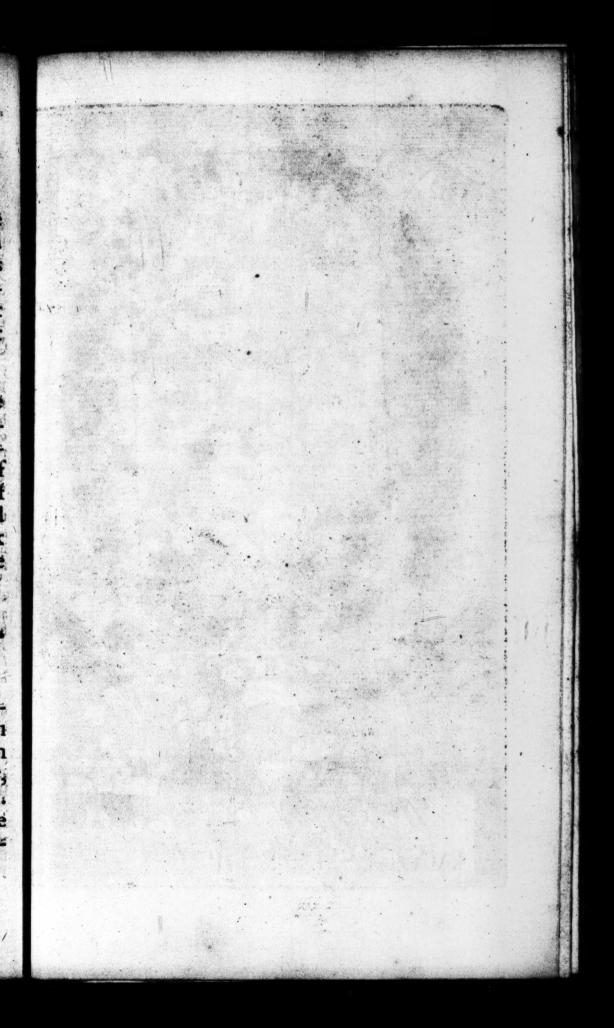
ADVERTISEMENT.

HE following Book, (excepting the Appendix) has been carefully examin'd and compar'd with two Manuscripts in his Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop of Dublin's Library; in one of which his Grace has writthese Words with his own Hand, which we set down here for the Reader's Satisfaction.

This Vindication, as I was inform'd by the late Lord Clarendon, was writ by his Father Lord Chancellor Clarendon, (if I remember right) at Cologne, with the Affistance of the Duke of Ormond, and by the Help of Memoirs furnished by the late Duke; I had it from Captain Baxter, a Servant, (I think Steward) to the Duke of Ormond, in the Year, 1686.

WILL DUBLIN.

N. B. The Pages relating to the Happy Condition of Ireland, before the Year 1640. which are mentioned in the Preface, to have been Quoted from my Lord Clarendon's Manuscript, by Dr. Nalson, in Fol. 590, &c. of the 2d. Vol. of his Collections. may be seen at large from the 7th, to the 9th Page of the sollowing History.





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Illustrifsimus Princeps
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AN

HISTORICAL VIEW

OF THE

Affairs of IRELAND.

Jer. CHAP. ii. ver. 14, 15, 16, 17.

Is Ifrael a fervant? is he a home-bornslave? why

is he spoiled?

The young lions roared upon him, and yelled, and they made his land waste: his cities are burnt without inhabitant.

Also the children of Noph and Tahapanes have

broken the crown of thy head.

Hast thou not procured this unto thy self, in that thou hast fersaken the Lord thy God, whenhe led thee by the way?

Will speak that I may be refresh-the Preed, saith the Wisest and least face of the faulty of Job's Friends, when Author. he was wearied and tired with

the Impertinence and Infolence of others, Eloquar ut Respiratio sit mihi, saith our Latin Translation, I

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will speak that I may breathe. It is a very great Pain to hear Men speak tenorantly or wickedly, and not to have Liberty to controul or disprove them; no Suffocation can be more unpleasant than fuch a forc'd Silence; to hear virtuous and worthy Actions declaim'd and inveighed against, and virtuous and worthy Men censur'd, traduc'd and reproach'd for doing what they ought, and by their Duty are oblig'd to do, whilst unlawful and finful Actions are justify'd, commended, and their Abettors magnify'd and extoll'd; and not to reply to those malicious Difcourses: To be forc'd to hear our natural Sovereign (an innocent and pious Prince) flander'd and accus'd with Reproaches, Calumnies, Lyes, and Aspersions, notoriously falle, and easily made to appear to be so: To hear God himself prophand and blasphem'd, His Omnipotence queftion'd and flighted, His Justice disputed, and His Anger derided: To hear Murther, Treason, and Rebellion vindicated and maintain'd, as committed and propagated by the Infusion and Direction of his Spirit, his bleffed Name invok'd and challeng'd, for Defence and Support of fuch a Mals of Wickedness, and not to open a Man's Mouth against the horrid Blasphemy, is not only more Vexation, Grief, and Torment of Mind, but really more sharp, fenfible

fenfible, and piercing Pain to the Mind and nobler Parts of a wife and honest Man, than what the outward Limbs are subject to by the Gout, Tooth-ach, or Lask it felf. Never Age subjected Man to this kind of Trouble and Pain more than this prefent; when, to the Persecution that good Men undergo in the Loss of their Fortunes and Lives, in their Banishment from their Friends, their Families, and their Country, the Wants and Necesfities which naturally attend that fad Condition, this Circumstance is added, (a Circumftance which most Persecutions have been without) they are purfu'd with Reproaches of not having done their Parts in refifting the rude Torrent which hath over-borne them (when they bear all the Marks of doing and fuffering) oftentimes with Calumnies of a baser Allay, of complying with the publick Enemy, when (next to the Publick) their Particular Merical and Virtue have been with the greatest Envy, Malice, and Fury, detested and perfecuted by those Enemies, and with fuch other Scandals and unworthy Afperfions, as may alienate the Affections of the Beholders, and deprive them of that Compassion, Honour and Justice, which is due from all the World to their Courage, Wifdom and Integrity. And this kind of effeminate Distemper too often rageth in the Breafts

4 An HISTORICAL VIEW

Breasts of those, who come, in some Degree, to be just Sufferers with the other in the common Calamities; who having been originally guilty of making those Breaches, at which, greater, or rather other, Wickedness have enter'd, than, it may be, at first was intended, instead of acknowledging their own Folly and Madness, labour rather to traduce those who hinder them from prevailing, than to oppose the other who prevail'd farther than they desir'd they should have done.

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The Oceafion of this Treatise. HERE needs no other Instance, how many more soever may be given, of this petulant and unchristian Humour, than the Licence

which hath been, and still is taken by some of the Romish Clergy of the Irish Nation, (in fome printed Pamphlets, whereby they would invite the Christian World to take Compassion on them) to lay Aspersions and unworthy Imputations upon the King, who is in Heaven, who us'd all imaginable Princely Endeavours to have reduc'd and preferv'd them, after they had most rebelliously provok'd him, and upon his Majesty that now is, (whose faithful Subjects they feem to defire to be thought and accounted) and upon the Marquels of Ormond, the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, who (having ferv'd their Majesties with the greatest Courage and Magnanimity, and upon the most

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most abstracted Considerations of Honour and Conscience, and thereby struck so great a Reverence of his Virtues, even into his Enemies, that tho' they hated and feared him most, yet they have never reproach'd or revil'd him) is now forc'd, by fome unquiet and unworthy Spirits of his own Country, to undergo those Flagella lingua, the Strokes of the Tongue, from which only the Omnipotence of Almighty God himself can hide and preserve the most upright and most excellent Persons: And tho' the old Receipt of Spreta extollas, may to many seem fit to be apply'd to these odious Ebullitions; and that to take the least Notice of fuch lewd Discourses, (which flow from no other Fountain but that of Malice and Ignorance) is to do them too much Credit: Yet fince the Judgment of the most upright and wifest Men may be corrupted by mistaking the Matter of Fact, and fince the titular Bilhop of Ferns (for it will be no Prefumption to fay, tho' the Pope may make Bishops, he cannot dispole of Bishopricks within the King of Great-Britain's Dominions) hath thought fit to publish a little Book in his own Name, and industriously to disperse the same into all Parts, and among such Persons who can be prefumed to know little of the Affairs of Ireland, otherways than they are inform'd; and in that Book to lay many Reproaches

Reproaches upon his own lawful Sovereign, and most untruly to traduce the Person of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, the Marquels of Ormand, (whom his Lordinip ought not to Name without Reverence) and in such a Manner, as if he were the Mouth, and spake the Words of the whole Nation: I have not only thought it a Debt to Truth and Justice, but a Respect to that unhappy and oppress'd Nation, (of which very many noble Perfons have behav'd themselves with notable Fidelity to their Prince) and even an Act of Charity to the Roman Catholick Faith, (which may undergo some Scandal from the Licence and Distemper of such Discourses) to endeavour to preferve the Minds of Men from being wrought upon by those Infusions, and corrupted by those Misinformations.

The happy For the better doing thereof, "it will condition be necessary to take a brief View of of Ireland the true State and Condition of the Year 1640. Kingdom of Ireland, before the Year 1640, and of those material Passages which since that time have, in the Opinion of the Bishop, or in Truth, contributed to the full Calamity which it now undergoes, by which it will be easily discern'd where the Fault hath been, and from whence the Missortune hath proceeded. In doing

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whereof, I shall alledge no Matter of Fact, of which there is not unquestionable Evi-

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dence, or make any Deductions or Conclusions which do not naturally refult from these Actions, leaving the History of the memorable Acts which have pass'd on either Side, in the Managery of that War, to thole who have better Means and Skill to compile the same, having in truth no other End in this Work, than to vindicate the most just Person from the most unreasonable Calumnies; to undeceive those who are impos'd upon by Untruths, and (if it be possible) yet to incline the Deceivers to those ingenuous and christian Courses which can best advance their own Pretentions and real Interest. It is not the Bishop's calling the ten Years War in Ireland, Sanctum, justissimum Bellum, or his faying they have undergone the most constant and severe Persecution for the Profession of the Catholick Religion for the space of thirteen Years, that can make the happy and bleffed Condition forgotten, which that Nation was posses'd of before their own unskilful Rage and Fury brought this War upon them. They have now Leifure enough, and I hope Spirits better prepar'd, to value the wonderful Plenty, Peace, and Security they enjoy'd till the Year 1640, when they wantonly and difdainfully flung those Bleffings from them, The Increase of Traffick, Improvement of Land, Erection of Buildings, and what-B 4

foever else might be profitable and pleafant to a People, which were Advantages and Ornaments that the Policy and Indufiry of that Nation was utterly unacquainted with, till they were acquir'd by the Skill and Labour of the English planted, and living charitably, friendly, and hospitably among them: Taxes, Tallages, and Contributions were things hardly known to them by their Names: Whatfoever their Land, Labour, or Industry produc'd, was their own, being not only free from Fear of having it taken from them by the King upon any Pretence whatfoever without their own Consent; but also secur'd against Thieves and Robbers, by due Execution of good Laws, that Men might and did travel over all the Parts of the Kingdom with great Sums of Money, unguarded and unconcealed. If this precious State of Affairs be, or was undervalued under the Notion of being but temporal Bleffings, and Want of Freedom alledged in the Exercise of the Roman Religion to which that Nation was generally addicted, it cannot be denied but (tho' by the Laws and Constitution of that Kingdom, the Power and Authority of the Bishop of Rome is not in any Degree allowed, or fubmitted unto) the whole Nation enjoyed an undisturbed Exercise of their Religion, and even in Dublin (where the Seat of the King's chief Governour

Of the Affairs of Ireland.

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Governour was) they went as publickly and uninterruptedly to their Devotions, as he went to his: The Bishops, Priests, and all Degrees and Orders of Secular and Regular Clergy, were known to be, and exercise their Functions amongst them; and tho' there were some Laws against them still in Force, which Necessity, and the Wildom of former Ages had caused to be enacted, to suppress those Acts of Treason and Rebellion which the People frequently fell into, and the Policy of present Times kept unrepealed, to prevent rhe like Distempers and Designs; yet the Edge of those Laws was so totally rebated by the Clemency and Compassion of the King, that no Man could fay he had fuffered Prejudice or Disturbance in, or for his Religion, which is another kind of Indulgence than Subjects professing a Faith contrary to what is established by the Law of the Land can boast of, in any other Kingdom of the World. In this bleffed Condition of Peace and Security the English and Irish, the Protestant and Roman Catholick, lived mingled together in all Provinces of the Kingdom, quietly trafficking with one another during the whole happy Reign of King James; and

from his Death, every Degree of their Happiness was increased and improved under the Government of his late Majesty. As long as they contained themselves within the Bounds

of Duty and Allegiance towards him, the Wealth of the Kingdom was exceedingly increased by the Importation of great Store of Money, wonderful Increase of Trade. feveral new and profitable Manufactories were introduced and erected, whereby the Inhabitants were fet on Work, and the Land generally improved, by applying it to feveral Sorts of good Husbandry which that People had been utterly unacquainted with. The Roman Catholick Landlords had Protestant Tenants, and many Protestant Landlords Roman Catholick Tenants. Friendthips and Marriages were frequently contracted between them, and all Passion, at least, visible Animosities, which flow from the Differences of those Professions, laid aside or suppressed, till in the Year 1640, when they discerned some Distemper arising in England upon the Scots Invasion, and the Support and Countenance that People found in both Houses of Parliament, they would likewife bear a Part, and bring in their

The Seeds Contribution to the Work in Hand. Then of the Citable Humours of the Citable Humours of Ireland. Jealousies and Discontents which they found ipringing seditiously in both Houses of Parliament at Westminster, into Ireland, and with the same Passion and Distemper cherished them in the other at Dublin. So they accused upon general and unreasonable Imputations, several Counsellors and Ministers

of

of State which were trusted by the Crown in that Kingdom; and thereby, according to the Rule then unjustly prescrib'd at Westminster, removed those Persons from any Power over the Affairs there, whose Wildom might probably else have prevented the Mischiefs which have since ensued. Then they conspire childishly with the greatest Enemies their Nation or Religion had, against the Life of the late Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, by whose Wisdom and Government that Kingdom had reaped great Advantages, and was daily receiving greater, and fent a Committee from Dublin to Westminster, to join in Profecution of him; and having in the End procur'd the miferable (and never to be enough lamented) Ruin of that great Person, they powerfully oppos'd and hinder'd the conferring of that Charge upon any of those his Majesty had design'd it to, and got it devolv'd into fuch Hands as were most unlike to grapple with the Difficulties they were fure to meet with; and having thus, to their utmost Power, fomented their Divisions in England, and discountenanc'd and weaken'd the Royal Power in Ireland, by raising the same Faction against it there, on a sudden, upon the 23d. of October, 1641, without so The Masmuch as the least Pretence of a Quarrel sacre. or Hostility so much as apprehended by the

the Protestants, great Multitudes of the Irish Roman Catholicks in the Province of Ulfter, and shortly after in other Provinces and Parts of the Kingdom, tumultuoully affembled together, put themselves in Arms, seized upon the Towns, Castles, and Houfes belonging to the Protestants, which by their Force they could possess themselves of, and with most barbarous Circumstances of Cruelty, within the Space of less than ten Days, murthered an incredible Number of Protestants, Men, Women, and Children promiscuously without Distinction of Age or Sex, of any who were within the Reach of their Power. They who escaped best were robbed of all they had to their very Shirts, and so turned naked to indure the Sharpness of the Season; and by that Means, and for want of Relief, many Thoufands of them perished by Hunger and Cold. The Defign which at the same time was laid for the Surprize of the Castle of Dublin (the Residence of the King's chief Governour, and his Majesty's principal Magazine of Arms and Ammunition wherewith it was plentifully stored) being discovered by a Person trusted, and thereby disappointed, that Place was left fecurely to consult of the best Means to oppose that Torrent which was like to overwhelm the Kingdom; and for Refuge of the Protestants, who from all Parts of the Kingdom flocked

flocked thither, despoiled, robbed and stripped, with the sad Relation of the most inhuman Cruelty and Murders exercised upon their Friends, Kindred and Neighbours, which hath ever been heard of among Christians; and in that Manner, and with these Circumstances, began that War

which the Bishop calls Holy.

It is not the Purpole of this Discourse to The Irish lay the Imputation of this Rebellion and rally confavage Cruelty upon all the Irish and Ca-cern'd in tholicks of that Kingdom, of whom many it. Persons of Honour were never in the least Degree tainted with that Corruption; but on the contrary, have always given as fignal Testimonies of their Affections and Duty to the King, and of their Detestation of that odious and bloody Defection as any of his Subjects of either of his Majesty's other Kingdoms have done, whose Memory must with equal Justice and Care be transmitted to Posterity as precious Examples of Honour and Integrity. Others were by the Passion and Rigour of those who were then in Authority, (and had Power enough to destroy whom they had Inclination enough to suspect or accuse) driven to put themselves into the Protection of those whose Ways and Courses they totally disapproved; and many who were by Misinformation and Misbelief engaged in the carrying on, and possibly in the contriving

triving of the War and Insurrection, were Enemies to those Actions of bloody Rapine and Inhumanity which diffeonour any War, and grew quickly willing to repair the Breaches they had made, and to return to the Duty which they had violated; but it is neither impertinent nor uncharitable to befeech those of that Nation, whether Clergy or Laity, who in respect of the present Weight of Calamities, under which they are oppreffed, being more worthy of Compassion, to remember, that they now continue the War with Innocency and Justice, which they first entered into with extreme Guilt, and profecuted with extreme and unnecessary Cruelty; and that the they now lawfully defend themselves, their Country and their King against the worst and most merciless of Tyrants, they never had been driven to these Exigences, or undergone these devouring Afflictions, if they had not first unreasonably and wickedly rebelled against the best and most merciful of Kings; and their bewailing and heartily lamenting that first Transgression, is like to be the most Christian and Catholick Expedient to perswade God Almighty to protect and relieve them in their present Sufferings and intolerable Pressures, and the contrary and most unpracticable Temper, of defending and justifying the War from the Beginning, to be most just and holy; and

and that most horrible Rage and Fury in the Prosecution of it, to be the pious Means of upholding and carrying on that most just and holy War, may probably indispose that Providence from taking any Pity on them, or preserving them from to-

tal Extirpation.

One Circumstance of unhappy and impi- A fool ous Policy must not be forgotten, by which stratagem the bold Authors of that unnatural War rifh. in the first Entrance into it, promised to themselves notable Advantages; and which in truth (as most of the Policy of that Kind usually is turned to the Ruine of the Politician) brought unspeakable Misery and Devastation upon that whole Country and Nation. For the better inducing the People (who, having lived long in Peace and Amity with the English, were not without some Reverence to that Government, and so would not in plain and direct Terms be easily led into a direct Rebellion against their King) they not only declared, and with great Skill and Industry published through the Kingdom, That they took Arms for the King, and Defence of his lawful Prerogative, against the Puritan Parliament of England, which, they faid, invaded it in many Parts; and that what they did, was by his Majesty's Consent, Approbation and Authority; and to that Purpole produced and shewed a Commission to which

which they had fastened an Impression of the Great Seal of England, which they had taken off from some Grant or Patent which had regularly and legally past/; and so it was not hard to perswade weak and unexperienc'd Persons, that it was a true and real Commission from the King; and by this foul Stratagem, they cast so odious an Imputation upon the King, and upon those Persons which were worthily nearest his Affections and Council (the feditious Party The Fatal in England, who were then contriving all

ses of it.

Consequent the Mischief they have since brought to pass, using all their Arts to propagate those horrible Calumnies, and to infuse into the Hearts of the People an Irreverence and Jealoufy of the King, Queen, and those of nearest Trust to either of them) that his Majesty was even compelled for his own Vindication, and lest he might be thought too faint a Profecutor of an Enemy whole Infurrections 'twas faid himself had fomented, to commit the whole Management of that War to his two Houses of Parliament, who again interessed and intrusted such Members of their own Body with the ordering and directing of the same, as were resolved with most Passion, Uncharitableness and Violence, to prosecute that whole Nation, and the Religion that was most generally exercised there. Thus were all the Persons that were to conduct both the

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the Civil and Military Affairs in Ireland, drawn to a depending on the two Houses at Westminster; all the Officers and Commanders for the War were nominated or approved by them; all Money railed for that Service used and disposed only by their Orders; and by these Means, they, who craftily intended to draw a Support to themselves by using the King's Name to Purpoles he abhorr'd, foolishly defrauded and depriv'd themselves of that Protection and Mercy, which his Majesty would willingly have vouchfafed to them for their Reduction and Prefervation. For, from this Time, when any thing was propos'd of Extravagancy, or overmuch Rigour, which the Propolets faid was necessary for carrying on that War, if the King made any Scruple or Paule in giving his Confent to the same, they streight declar'd they were obstructed in sending Relief to the poor Protestants of Ireland, and then publish'd some particular Relations of the lamentable and inhuman Massacre made there by the Irish, which were confirm'd by Multitudes of miserable undone People, who landed from thence in feveral Places of England; who likewise reported the Rebels Discourses, of executing all by the King's Direction: So that indeed it was not in his Power to deny, what they thought fit to fay was necessary to the good Work

in hand. Thus he was compell'd to put all the strong Holds, Towns, and Castles in Ulster, in the Possession of the Scots, who were at that Time, by the great Managers, believ'd to be more worthy to be trusted than the English, with unusual Circumstances of Power, and even a kind of Independence upon the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and when his Majesty desir'd them to re-consider their own Propositions, and reflect how much it might intrench upon the English Interest, they furiously voted, that whosoever advis'd his Majesty to that Delay, was an Enemy to the Kingdom, and a Promoter of the Rebellion in Ireland. Thus his Majesty was necessitated to confent to that Bill, by which too great a Latitude is given for the Disposal of Land, in the several Provinces of that Kingdom, to those who have adventur'd Money in the War, which, without the Interpolition, Shelter, and Mercy of the Sovereign Power, would give up almost all that whole People and their Fortunes, to the Disposal of their cruel Enemies. And Laftly, by this accurfed and groundless Calumny, thus rais'd upon the King, the full Power was devolv'd into their Hands, who too much imitated the Fury and Inhumanity of the Irish, in carrying on the War, and proceeded with fo much Rigour and Cruelty in shedding of Blood, as was much detefted by his

his Majesty's gracious and merciful Disposi-

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But when the Rebellion broke out in The Cruel England, and the King was thereby com- rion of the pell'd to take up Arms for his own Defence, war by the and had feen the Men and Money rais'd Parliaby his Authority for the Relief of Ireland, ment. imploy'd by his English Rebels against himfelf, and so his Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom, upon the Matter, deserted, or at least unprovided for; and the Strength and Power of the Roman Catholicks increasing, and every Day improv'd by Affistance and Aid from abroad; his Majesty believ'd they had made the worst Use of all the Slanders and Reproaches which were rais'd against him, and began to interpole his own Royal Authority a little more than he could formerly do, in the managing the Affairs of Ireland, and made fuch an Alteration in the Government there, by removing one Lord Justice who was most addicted to the English Rebels, and most pliable to their Ends, and putting a moderate and discreet Person in the Place, that his Majesty's Honour and Command, and the publick Interest of the Kingdom were more regarded, and the Power which the English Parliament had unreasonably assum'd there, less consider'd. His Majesty likewise granted more absolute Power and Jurisdiction in military Affairs to the Marquess of Ormond, than he had before,

Methods taken by

before, well knowing that he was a Person of the most ancient Honour, and greatest and noblest of Fortune within that Kingdom, and of a very fignal Affection to the Crown, upon the most abstracted Considerations of Conscience, Duty, and Integrity: So that being of that Nation, and too much concern'd in their Peace and Happiness, to wish an Extirpation of it, he would carry on the War with less unnecessary Severity and Devastation, than had been us'd; which was like to prove the most effectual Way to purge that People from the Despair they had swallow'd, and dispose them to return to their Duty and Allegiance. And it will not be deny'd, that from this time, (however the Irish were defeated always in Battel, as often as they encounter'd with the Marquels, and fuch Execution was then taken, as in the Heat and Virulency of those Contentions, cannot be pre-The gentlevented) there was never any foul Act done by the English, or greater Rigour us'd than his Majesty was necessary to the Work in Hand; no fented to by the Marquess or his Officers,

Retalliation of former Outrages, but Quarter given when desir'd, and all Articles conpunctually observ'd and perform'd to the Nation, and the War, in all Confiderations, profecuted by the same Rules, and with the same Temper, as if it had been against an

equal Enemy, who could have justify'd the

entering into it.

And here it must be observ'd, that how cheap foever the Marquels is now grown, as a Soldier and General in War, and how much soever the Bishop is pleas'd to reproach his Inactivity, during the whole time that he alone order'd and conducted the War against the Roman Catholicks, in behalf of his Majesty, his unwearied Vigilance and Industry, in quick, painful and fuddain Marches, his sharp and successful Counsel in Designs, and his constant Courage in the Execution, was very grevious and formidable to them: How many of their Towns, The Cou-Castles and Forts did he take from them rage and with a Handful of Men? When did they Conduct of appear before him in the Field, though quest of with Numbers much superior to his, that Ormond. they were not defeated, routed, and difbanded. Let them remember the Battel The Battel of Kilrush in April, 1642, when being don-of Kilble the Number of the Marquess, they thought without Difficulty to have cut off his Army, which was then tir'd and harras'd with long Marches, and Want of all kind of Provisions; but, upon the Encounter, the Irish were quickly subdu'd, slain, and put to flight, with the Loss of their Baggage and Ammunition. Witness that famous Battel near Roffe, when General The Battle Preston led an Army of above Six Thou-of Rosse

fand Foot, and Eight Hundred Horse against the Marquels, who had not two Thouland two Hundred Foot, nor five Hundred Horse; and where, by the Advantage of Ground, and other Accidents, the Irish Horse had routed the English, and driven them from the Field: At the Sight whereof the small Body of Foot were even apall'd and difmay'd, when the Marquess put himself in the Head of his shaken Infantry, and by his fole Resolution and Virtue, enflam'd them with Shame and Courage, and led them against the proud and insolent Enemy; and after a sharp Encounter and Slaughter of as many as had Courage to make Opposition, put the rest to flight, and purfu'd them to the Boggs and Fastnesses, more terrify'd and confounded with his fingle Name, than the Power that affifted him.

Whilst the Marquess had Officers and Soldiers that would obey and follow him, he found no Enemy could withstand him; without those, no Hanibal, Scipio, nor Cafar himself, ever obtain'd Victory. By these continual Successes, the wild Temper of the Irish began to be abated; and they who had been carry'd with the popular Stream, without any Power to resist the Torrent, had now Opportunity to revolve what they had done, and the Consequence that must necessarily attend such Transactions: They thought an humble Address to him whom they

they had offended to be a more natural Way to Peace and Happiness than the Profecution of the War, which had been The Irish attended with fo much Mischief, and ac-for a Treacordingly profes'd a Desire to be admitted v. to petition the King; in which they found fuch Encouragement, That, upon the First Declaration, a Commission was fent by his Majesty to the Marquess of Ormand and others, to receive any fuch Petition, which likewise was no sooner transmitted to him, than another Commission under the great Seal of Ireland was granted to treat with the Roman Catholick Irish, in order to a Cellation of Arms; that fo, upon the Intermission of those Acts of Blood and Outrage, and a more charitable Communication of each others Grievances, the Foundation of a happy Peace might be temperately and maturely weighed and confider'd: And hereupon the Ceffation of Arms was agreed on A Ceffafor the Space of one Year, so much to the ton agreed Advantage and Benefit of the Roman Catho-Cellation was amedal)

What Scandal, Reproach, and real Damage the Marquess underwent by his being charitably inclin'd to that Cessation, and desiring to prevent those Calamities which he wisely foresaw must be the Portion of that Nation, if they did not speedily return to their Allegiance and Loyalty, wise Men knew, who were acquainted C 4 with

with the Humour and Spirit of that Time the universal Prejudice the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland had contracted against the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, for the Damage they had fustain'd, and the Rapine and Cruelty which had been perpetrated by the first Authors of the Rebellion, infomuch as a more unpleasing and unpopular Inclination could not be discover'd in any Man, than a Wish or Consent that the War (from which so many promis'd Revenge and Fortunes) should be any other Way ended, than with the Blood and Confiscation of all whom they could propose to be guilty of the Defection. And if the Marquess hath not found a due Retribution of Thanks and Acknowledgment from the whole Nation, for giving that Opportunity to have made themselves happy (to fignally to his own Difadvantage) it must be imputed to the Want of Understanding and Gratitude, in which too many of that People have abounded. SunnybA

Shortly after the Cessation was made, the consederate Catholicks appointed certain Commissioners authoriz'd by them to attend his Majesty at Oxford, with such Desires and Propositions, as make too lively a Representation how incompetent Considerers they were of that Way to their own Repose and Happiness; and how unlikely they were to prevent the destroying Calamities

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Galamities that hung over their Heads, and do closely pursu'd them at the same time. As long as the Treaty lasted, the King was likewise attended by a Committee fent by the Council-Board of that Kingdom, to inform his Majesty of all Matters of Fact which had pass'd, and of the Laws and Customs there, which might be necesfary to be well weighed, upon what the Catholicks should demand or propose: And by another Committee, who were deputed by a Parliament then Sitting at Dublin, to follicit his Majesty in behalf of his Majesty's Subjects of that Kingdom; and that nothing might be granted in that Treaty to the Prejudice of their Interest and Secu-Mitchieffs and fuch other Conditionstin

The Catholicks, as Men which thought The High themselves possess of the whole Strength of the Ro. and Power of the Kingdom, and the King's manists. Condition in England so weak, as he would buy their Assistance at any Rate, demanded upon the Matter the Total Alteration of Government both in Church and State: The very Form of making and enacting Laws, which is the Foundation of a Government, and which had been practised ever since the Reign of Henry the VII. must be abolished, and instead of Liberty and Toleration of the Exercise of the Koman Religion, they insisted upon such Privileges, Immunities, and Power, as would have

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amounted at least but to a Toleration of the Protestant Religion; and That no longer than they should think fit to consent to it. On the other Hand, the Committee of Parliament, as Men who too much felt the Smart and Anguish of their late Sufferings, and undervalued and contemn'd the Catholick Irish, as inferior to them in Courage and Conduct, and as possess'd of much greater Power by the Ceffation than they could attain in War, very earnestly press'd the Execution of the Laws in Force, Reparation for the Damage they had fuflain'd, and difarming the Irish in fuch Manner, and to fuch Degrees, as it might not be hereafter in their Power to do more Mischief; and such other Conditions as Reople, who are able to contend, are not usually perswaded to submit unto, in these fo different and diftant Applications. They who were fent as moderate Men from the Council, knew not how to behave themfelves; but enough discover'd, that they had not the Confidence in the Irifb, as to be willing they should be so far trusted : That the Performance of their Duty should depend only upon their Affections and Allegiance, but that there fhould be greater Restraint on them than they were inclin'd to submit to; otherwise, that the Protestant Religion and English Interest would edministration and Power as would have

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be fooner rooted out by that Peace they proposid, than it would be by the War.

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It is true, that the Committee for the confederate Catholicks demeaned themselves to his Majesty with a great deal of Modesty and Duty, and confess'd they believ'd the Demands they were enjoyn'd to infift on, were such as his Majesty could not consent unto; and that the present Condition of his Affairs was not so well underflood by them, or by those that fent them, before their coming out of Ireland, as it now was; which if it had been, they were confident they should have had such Infiructions as would have better comply'd with their own Desires and his Majesty's Occasions; and therefore frankly offer'd to return, and use their utmost Endeavour to incline the confederate Council, whose Deputies they were, and who then exercis'd the fupreme Power over the confederate Catholicks of Ireland, to more Moderation, and to return to their full Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, upon such Conditions as his Goodness would consent unto for their Security.

Hereupon the King fent his Command The Ceffato the Marquels of Ormand, whom he had tion, connow made Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, to continue and renew their Celfation for another Year; and likewise a Commission under the great Seal of England,

to make a full Peace with his Catholick Subjects, upon fuch Conditions as he found agreeable to the publick Good and Welfare, and as might produce fuch a Peace and Union in that Kingdom, that it might affift him for the Vindication of his Royal Power, and suppressing the Rebels in England and Scotland; and so his Majesty dismiss'd his Carbolick Commissioners with Demonstration of much Grace and Confidence in them; and with this good Counfel which he most pa-

flies good missioners.

thetically pour'd out to them at their De-His Maje- parture, That they should remember, That Advice to the Preservation of their Nation, and the the Casho-Religion which they professed, and were so lick Com- zealous for in Ireland, depended upon the Preservation of his just Rights and Authority in England. That they faw his Subjects in Scotland (contrary to all their Obligations) had invaded England, and joyn'd with the Rebels against him, who without that Assistance would have been speedily reduc'd to their Obedience: And therefore, if his Catholick Subjects of Ireland made hafte, upon such Conditions as he might then grant, without Prejudice to himself, and which should be amply sufficient for the Security of their Fortunes, Lives, and Exercise of that Religion, to assist him, whereby he might be enabled, by God's Blessing, to suppress that Rebellion, they might confidently believe he would never furget to whose Merits be ow'd his Preservation

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tion and Restauration; and it would then be in bis absolute Power to vouchsafe Grace unto them to compleat their Happiness, and which he gave them his Royal Word he would then dispense in such Manner, as should not leave them disappointed of their just and full Expestations; but if, by infisting on such Particulars as he could not in Conscience consent to, and their Conscience oblig'd them not to ask, and on such as though he could himself be content to yield to, yet in that Juncture of Time would bring so great a Damage to him, that all the Supplies that they could give or send, could not countervail, and might as beneficially be granted to them hereafter when he might better do it, if they should delay their joyning with him, and so look on till the Rebels Power prevail'd against him in England and Scotland, and suppress his Party in those Kingdoms; it would then be too late for them to give him help, and they would quickly find their Strength in Ireland but an imaginary Support for his or their own Interest; and that they who with much Difficulty had defroy'd him, would then without any considerable Opposition, ruin their Interest, and root out their Religion and their Nation from all the Dominions which should be subject to their exorbitant Jurisdiction. How much of this prov'd a Prophecy, their sad Experience knows, and the World cannot but take Notice of it.

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When the Commissioners return'd into Ireland, most of them perform'd their Promife and Engagement to the King very faithfully; and by the Information they gave to the supreme Council, and by their Counfel, Interest, and Advice, they prevail'd so far, that the Nobility, Gentry, and all Men of considerable Fortunes, with such of the Secular and Regular Clergy, who were the most eminent for Piety and Praclice of Religious Duties, were convinc'd of the Necessity of submitting themselves entirely to the King, upon fuch Terms, for the present, as his Majesty had gracioully offer'd their Commissioners; and that no Time should be lost in perfecting the Pacification, and in proceeding most effeetually towards their affifting the King in England: But the evil Genius of that People quickly banish'd this blessed Temper, and manifested to the World how unripe they were for that Bleffing. They who valu'd themselves upon their Interest and Dependences, whose Credit and Reputation had corrupted Multitudes to swerve from their publick Duty to their King, out of their private Devotion and Submission to them, found it now a more easy Matter to prevent and mislead popular Affections, than to reduce them; and that they could no more allay the Spirits they had conjur'd up, than they could command the

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the Sun or the Winds. The Nobility, and Men of known Fortunes, had lost their Power, and the most factious, ignorant, and violent Part of the Clergy had so much Influence upon the common People, that The Treaty they only obey'd their Dictates, and with ineffectual. them only oppos'd all those Conclusions, which, according to Wildom and true Policy, were to be the Ingredients of a happy and lasting Peace; and so above two Years were spent, after the Commissioners departed from the King, in fruitless and ineffectual Treaties, whilst the Strength and Power of the Rebellion in England exceedingly increas'd, and his Majesty's Forces were defeated, and himself, for want of the Succour he expected, and which he was promis'd out of Ireland, compell'd to The Ruin deliver up himself to his Scottish Subjects, of his Maand was fhortly after deliver'd by them to bis Kingthe Rebels of England, by whom he was doms. in the End, with all those Circumstances of Horrour and Barbarity, murder'd in the Sight of the Sun.

After all these unhappy and pernicious An Assemble Delays, a great Assembly of the confede-bly of the rate Catholicks, which consisted of all the Catholicks Peers of that Party, and of all the Gen-inthe Year tlemen and Burgesses of Corporation 1645.

Towns, (which was as lively a Representation of the whole Nation as they could make) towards the end of the Year

1645,

1645, appointed and authoriz'd a feled Number of that Body of the Peers of & minent Quality, and most eminent Ability, and fuch as throughout all the Troubles had been employ'd and intrusted by them in Places and Offices of highest Trust and Concernment, to treat and conclude

Appoint

with the Marquels of Ormand his Maje-Commissio-sty's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a firm mers for a and full Peace; whereupon all the Particulars which might concern the Interest and Security of either Party being maturely weighed and confider'd, and every Article being then first read, debated and approv'd in the General Assembly with out one diffenting Voice, the whole was concluded, and the confederate Catholicks oblig'd to transport within a very short time an Army of Ten Thousand Men into England, for the Service and Relief of the King; and all things thus stated and fettled, the Commissioners who had treated the Peace were fent by, and in, the Name of the Assembly to Dublin, where the Lord Lieutenant resided, to sign the faid Articles, and to receive his Lordship's Confirmation of them: And accordingly the Articles were there in the Beginning of the Year 1646, interchangeably fign'd and perfected, with all the Formalities requifite, and shortly after, were with all Solemnity and Ceremony publish'd and proclaim'd

Sign'd.

claim'd by the King at Arms in Dublin and at Kilkenny, where the supreme Council and the Assembly of all the confederate Catholicks were held, and then printed by their publick Authority. The Arch-Bishop of Firmo, the Pope's Nuncio, with the Catholicks in Ireland, manifesting his Approbation of all that had been done, and giving his Bleffing to the Commissioners when they were fent to Dublin to conclude the Treaty; and other Ministers from Foreign Princes being present, consenting to and witnessing the Conclusion: So that the Marquess having perform'd all on his Part that could be expected from him, and was in his Power to do; and having receiv'd from other Parts all the Assurance he could require, there being no other Way of managing the publick Faith of the Nation, than that by which they had formerly engag'd themselves to him, intending nothing but how his Majesty might speedily receive lome Fruit of the Peace and Accommodation, by fending some Assistance to him. And to that Purpose, with Advice, and upon Invitation of several Persons who had great Authority and Power amongst the confederate Catholicks, he took a Journey The Marhimself to Kilkenny, where he was receiv'd quessinviwith that Respect and Reverence which was kenny. due to his Person, and to the Place he held; and with fuch Expressions of Triumph and Joy,

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Joy, as gave him cause to believe the People were glad again to be receiv'd into his Majesty's Protection. But this Sunshine of Hope quickly vanish'd, and a Cloud of Jealousy began again to cover the Land. The Pope's Nuncio, and the titular Bishops which depended on him, envy'd the Nation the Happiness and Glory they foresaw it would be possess and Glory they foresaw it would be possess and so without any Colour of Authority, either by the old establish'd Laws of that Kingdom, or the Rules they had prescrib'd to themselves since the

The Conse-they had prescrib'd to themselves since the quences of Rebellion, they convened a Congregation obstructed of the Clergy at Waterford, (a Town most by the I-at their Devotion) where this titular Bishop rish Cler-

of Fernes was in the Chair, and resided: And therefore it will not be a mils to take a short View of these Proceedings, that the unhappy, oppress'd, miserable People of Ireland may thereby difcern to whom they owe those Oppressions they are now overwhelm'd with; and whether that Bishop is to be reckon'd in the Number of those who fuffer at present for their Zeal to Religion, their Allegiance to the King, and Affection to their Country: Or whether his Name is to be inroll'd in the Catalogue which must derive to Posterity the Authors and Fomenters of fo odious and causeless a Rebellion, in which fuch a Sea of Blood hath been let out, and the Destroyers of

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the Hohour and Faith of the Country and Nation; and who are no less guilty of the Extirpation of Religion in that Catholick Kingdom, than Ireton or Cromwell, or that impious Power under which they have perpetrated all their Acts of Blood, Cruelty, and Defolation.

This Congregation of the Clergy were Proceedno fooner affembled, than (instead of pre-ings of scribing Acts of Charity and Repentance to fembly at the People, for the Ills they had formerly Waterdone, and then inflaming their Hearts with ford. new Zeal, and infusing pious Courage into them, to relieve and fuccour the King from those Rebels that oppos'd him, according to their particular Obligation by their late Agreement, which had been the proper Office of Prelates and a Christian Clergy) they began to inveigh against the Peace which themselves had so lately approv'd, and to formally confented to, as if it had not carefully enough provided for the Advancement of Religion; would not suffer it to be proclaim'd at Waterford, and fent their Emissaries and their Orders to all confiderable Towns and Cities, to incense the People against it, and against those who wished it should take Effect; in so much, that when the King at Arms was proclaiming the Peace at Lymerick, with that Solemnity and Ceremony as in such Cases is us'd throughout the World, with his Coat of Arms,

Arms, the Enfign of his Office, and accompany'd with the Mayor and Aldermen, and most substantial of the Citizens in their Robes, and with all Enfigns of Magistracy and Authority, one Maleife, a feditious Fryar, stirr'd up the Multitude against him, which being led on by one Fanning, a Perfon notorious for many Outrages and Acts of Blood and Inhumanity in the Beginning of the Rebellion, violently affaulted them; and after many opprobrious Speeches in Contempt of the Peace and the Authority

Which oc. of the King, and tearing off the Coat from casion'd po- the Herauld, beat and wounded him and pular Tu-many of the Magistrates of the City, and ticularlyin some of them almost to Death. And lest Limerick all this might be excus'd, and charitably

interpreted to be the Effect of a popular tumultuous Insurrection, the lawful Mayor, and other principal Officers who affilted

Where the him in the Discharge of his Duty, were immediately displac'd, and Fanning, the frates are impious Conducter of that Rabble, made

Mayor in his Place; who by Letters from the Nuncio was thank'd for what he had done, encourag'd to proceed in the fame Way, and had the Apoltolical Benediction bestow'd on him for committing such an Outrage on the [privileg'd Person of an Herauld, who in the Name of the King

came to proclaim the Peace, as by the Law of Nations must have been adjudged

barbarous

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barbarous and unpardonable, in any part of the World where Civility is planted, if he had come to have denounc'd War: And yet all this while, the Design it self was carried on with so great Secrefy, that the Lord Lieutenant (proceeding in his Progress for the Settling and composing the Humours of the People, which he underflood to have been in some Disorders by the Infusion of the ill affected Clergy) never heard of any Force of Arms to second and support these mutinous Disorders, till being near the City of Cashell, he was inform'd by Letters from the Mayor, that Owen O Neal's Army was march'd that These Disway, and had fent terrible Threats to that orders sup-City, if it presum'd to receive the Lord an Army Lieutenant: And shortly after, he found, under Othat Owen O Neal us'd all possible Expe-Neal. dition to get between him and Dublin, that so he might have been able to have fur- who en. priz'd and destroy'd him. Whereupon the deavours Marquels found it necessary to lose no Time the Marin returning thither, yet relolv'd not only quels. to contain himself from all Acts of Hostility, but even from those Trespasses which are hardly avoided upon Marches, and so paid punctually for whatfoever was taken from the Inhabitants throughout all the Catholick Quarters, prefuming that those Persons of Honour who had transacted the Treaty, would have been able to have caus'd

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caus'd that Peace to be observ'd in despite of these clamorons Undertakers. 1010 17

terford declares the Peace woid.

The Affem. When the unchristian Congregation at bly at Wa Waterford had made this Effay of their Power and Jurisdiction, they made all posfible hafte to propagate their Authority, and declar'd the Peace to be void, and inhibited all Persons to submit thereto, or to pay any Taxes, Impositions, or Contributions which had been fettled by the faid Agreement; and without which neither a standing Army (which was to be apply'd to the Reduction of those Towns and Provinces which had put themselves under the Protection of the Rebels of England, and never submitted to the former Cessation. nor could be comprehended in the Peace) could be supported, or the ten Thousand Men could be transported into England for the Service of the King, as had been fo religiously undertaken. Which Inclination of theirs the People fo readily obey'd, and fubmitted unto, that they delegated an entire and absolute Power and Command, as

The Nuncio well in Secular as Ecclefiastical Matters, to assumes the Pope's Nuncio, who began his Empire Supreme with committing to Prison the Commis-Power. fioners who had been instrumental in the Treaty, and making of the Peace by order of the general Assembly, and issued out an Excommunication against all those who had, or should submit to the Peace,

which

which comprehended all the Nobility, and His Exeralmost all the Gentry of the Nation, and cife of it. very many of the most learned and pious Clergy, as well Regular as Secular: Which Excommunication wrought fo univerfally upon the Minds of the People, that albeit many Persons of Honour and Quality receiv'd infinite Scandal, and well forefaw the irreparable Damage their Religion it felf would undergo by that unwarrantable Proceeding, and us'd their utmost Endeayours to draw the People to Obedience and Submission to the said Agreement; and to that Purpose prevail'd so far with General Preston, that he gave them Reason to hope, that he would join with them for the Vindication of the publick Faith and Honour of the Nation, and compel those that oppos'd it to fubmit to the Peace; yet all these Endeavours produc'd no Effect, but concluded in unprofitable Resentments and Lamentations.

In the mean time, Owen O Neal (when Owen O he found himself disappointed of his Delign Neal ento cut off the Lord Lieutenant before he gueen's should reach Dublin) enter'd into the Queen's County. County, and committed all Acts of Cruelty and Outrage that can be imagin'd; took many Castles and Forts that belong'd to the King, and put all who resisted, to the Sword; and his Officers, in cold Blood, caus'd others to be murder'd, to whom D 4 they

they had promis'd Quarter, as Major Piggott, and others of his Family; and shortly after the Nuncio prevail'd so much, that he united General Preston to his Army, and likewise to his Purpose, and then himfelf, as Generalissimo, led both Armies towards Dublin, where the Lord Lieutenant was fo furpriz'd by their Perfidiousness, that he found himself in no less Streights and Distresses from his Friends within, than from his Enemies without, (who totally neglected those Forces, which being under the Obedience of the English Rebels, had always waged a sharp and bloody War with them, and at prefent made Inroads into their Quarters, to their great Damage), and entirely engag'd themselves close to suppress the King's Authority, to which they had so lately submitted.

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Left so prodigious an Alteration as is now set forth, may appear to be wrapp'd in too short Discourses, and it may appear almost incredible, that an Agreement so deliberately and solemnly enter'd into by the whole Nobility and Gentry of a Nation, in a Matter that so entirely concern'd their own Interest, should in such an Instant be blasted and annihilated by a Congregation of Clergy, assembled only by their own Authority, and therefore without the Vice of Curiosity, all Men may desire to be informed by what Degrees and Methods that Congregation

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non pretences and Infinuations they us'd towards the People for the better perswading them to depart from that Peace, they were once again restor'd to the Possession of; it will be less impertinent to set down some important Particulars of their Proceedings, and the very Form of some Instruments publish'd by them, that the World may see the Logick and Rhetorick that was us'd to impose upon and delude that unhappy People, and intangle them in that Labyrinth of Confusion, in which they are still involv'd.

They were not content not to fuffer the strange Peace to be proclaim'd in Waterford, and Decree of to disswade the People from submitting to it clergy. but by a Decree, dated the 12th of August, 1646, which they commanded to be publish'd in all Places in the English and Irish Tongue; they declar'd by the unanimous Consent and Votes of all, even none contradicting, (as they fay) that all and fingular the confederate Catholicks, who should adhere or consent to the Peace or to the Factors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, should be absolutely perjur'd; especially for this Cause, that in those Articles there is no mention made of the Catholick Religion, or the Security thereof, or any Care taken for the Conservation of the Privileges of the Country, as had been promis'd

promis'd in an Oath formerly taken by them, but rather all things referr'd to the Pleafure of the most renown'd King, from whom, in this present State, they said nothing of Certainty could be had; and in the Interim the Armies, Arms and Fortunes, and even the supreme Council of the confederate Catholicks, are subjected to the Rule and Authority of the Council of State and Protestant Officers of his Majesty, from whom, that they might be fecure, they had taken that Oath; and the next Day being inform'd that the Lord Viscount Mountgarrett, and Lord Viscount Muskerry, were appointed by the Supreme Council of Kilkenny to go to Dublin to confer with the Lord Lieutenant, upon the best Way to be pursu'd for the Execution and Observation of the Peace, they made an Order in Writing, in which were these Words.

We admonish in our Lord, and require the Persons who are departed to
Dublin, that they forbear and abstain
from going thither for the said End; and
if they be gone, that they return; and
this under the Pain of Excommunication;
commanding the Right Honourable the
Bishop of Osfory, and other Bishops, as
well assembled as not assembled here,
and there; Vicars General, as also Vicars Apostolical, and all Priests, even Irregulars, that they intimate these Pre-

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fents, or cause them to be intimated, even by fixing in publick Places, and that they proceed against the Disobedient, in denouncing of Excommunication, as it

When the Supreme Council (notwithflanding these new Orders and Injunctions)
continu'd still their Desire to observe the
Peace, the titular Bishop of Offory publish'd strange
this extraordinary Writing. Whereas Writing of
the titular we have in publick and private Meetings, Bishop of
at several Times declar'd to the Supreme Offory.

'Council, and others whom it may con-'cern, that it was unlawful, against Confcience, and implying Perjury (as it hath been defin'd by the penal Act of the "Convocation now at Waterford) to both 'Common-wealths, Spiritual and Tempo-'ral, to do or concur to any Act tending to the Approbation or countenancing the Publication of this unlawful and milchievious Peace, so dangerous (as it is now articled) to both Common-wealths, Spi-'ritual and Temporal: And whereas, notwithstanding our Declaration (yea the Declaration of the Clergy of the Kingdom) to the contrary, the Supreme Council, and the Commissioners, have actually proceeded to the Publication, yea and forcing it upon the City by Terror and Threats, rather than by any free Consent or Desire of the People: We

' having

having duly consider'd and taken it to Heart, as becometh; how enormous this Fact is and appears in Catholicks, even against God himself, and what a publick Contempt of Holy Church it appears, befides the Evil it is like to draw upon this poor Kingdom; after a mature Delibera-' tion and Consent of our Clergy, in Detestation of this heinious and scandalous * Disobedience of the Supreme Council, and others who adherr'd to them in Matter of Conscience to Holy Church, and in hatred of so sinful and abominable an Act, We do by these Presents, according to the Prescription of Sacred Canons, pronounce and command, henceforth, a gee neral Ceffation of divine Offices throughout all the City and Suburbs of Kilkenny, in all Churches, Monasteries, and Houses what-' foever : Given at our Palace of Nova Curia; Aug. 18. 1646. Sign'd David Offorienfis.

This extravagant Proceeding did not yet terrify those of the confederate Catholicks, who understood how necessary the Observation of the Peace was for the Preservation and Welfare of the Nation; but as more mode they defir'd all Acts of Hostility to cease, upon how unreasonable a Provocation soever, so they sent two Persons of the Supreme Council (Sir Lucas Dillon, and Dr. Fennell) to the Congregation at Waterford, to dispose them to a better Temper, and

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to find out fome Expedient which might compose the Minds of the People, and prevent those Calamities that would unavoidably fall upon the Nation, upon their declining or renouncing the Peace; But after they had attended several Days, and offered many Reasons and Considerations to them, the Congregation put a Period to all the Hopes and Confultations of that Nature, by iffuing out a Decree of Excommunication, which they caused to be printed in this Form, in thefe Words, with But difapthe marginal Notes; By John Baptist Ra-pointed by nucini, Archbistop and Primate of Fermo, and by the Ecclefiaftical Congregation of both Clergies of the Kingdom of Ireland.

A Decree of Excommunication against The Assembly as adhere to the late Peace, and do bly's Decree of Excommunication against The Assembly and do aid or assist them.

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notes or min in that, for or in behalf of

NOT without Cause (saith the Oracle of Truth) doth the Minister of God carry the Sword, for he is to punish him that doth Evil, and remunerate him that doth Good: Hence it is, that we have by our former Decree declared to the World, our Sense and just Indignation against the late Peace, concluded and published at Dublin; not only in its Nature bringing Prejudice and Destruction of Religion and Kingdom, but also contra-

ry to the Oath of Affociation, and withal a gainst the Contrivers of and Adherers to the faid Peace; in pursuance of which Decrees, being forced to unsheath the spiritual Sword, We (to whom God hath given Power to bind and loofe on Earth) Math. 16. 18, 19. affembled together in the Holy Choft, tracing berein and initiating the Examples of many venerable and boly Prelates, who have gone (2 Cor.) before us; and taking for our Auabority the facred Canons (153) of Holy Church, grounded on boly Writ, ut tollantur emedio nostrum qui hoc opus faciunt, in nomine Domini nostri Jelu; deliver over fuch Persons to Satan (that is to fay) Excommunicate, Execrate, and Anathematize all such as after the publication of this our Decree and Notice, either privately or pubdickly given them hereof, shall defend, adhere to, or approve of the Justice of the Said Peace; and chiefly those who bear Arms, or make, or join in War, for, or in behalf of the Puritans or other Hereticks at Dublin, Cork, Youghall, or of other Places in this Kingdom, or Shall either by themselves, or by their Appointment bring, fend, or give any Aid, Succour; or Relief; Vietuals, Ammunition, or other Provision to them; or by Advice, or other ways, advance the said Peace, or the War made against us; those and every of them, by this present Decree, we do declare and pronounce Excommunicated iplo faao,

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cto, ut non circumveniamini a Satana, non enim ignoramus Cogitationes ejus. Dated at Kilkenny in our Palace of Refidence, 15 October, 1646. Signed Johannes Baptista Archi-Episcopus Fermanus, Nuncius Apostolicus de Mandate illustrissimi Domini Nuncij & Congregationis Ecclesiastica utriusq; Cleri Regni Hibernia, Nicholas Fernensis Congregationis Cancellarius.

And having thus fortified himself, he as The Nuncion Generalishmo made all Preparations to Marches march with two Armies to Dublin, which Dublin. consisting of fixteen thousand Foot, and as many hundred Horse; he believed, or seemed to believe, he should take the the Town by Assault as soon as he should appear before it; and in this Considence (that we may not interrupt the Series of this Discourse, by any intervening Action) when the Armies were within a Days March of the City, the two Generals sent this Letter with the Propositions annexed to the Lord-Lieutenant.

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May it please your Excellency,

BY the Command of the Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom, who offer the inclosed Propositions. We have under our Leading two Armies; our Thoughts are bent to our Religion, King, and Country; our Ends to establish the first, and to make the

two

two last secure and bappy; it is the greatest of our Care and Defire to perswade your Excellency to the effecting so blessed a Work; We do not define Effusion of Blood, and to that purpose the inclosed Propositions are sent from us. We pray God, your Consideration of them may prove fruitful. We are commanded to pray your Excellency to render an Aufwer to them by two of the Clock in the Afternoon on Thursday next; be it War or Peace, We shall endeavour in our ways to exercise Faith and Honour, and upon this Thought, We rest Your Excellency's most bumble Servants, confiding of fixteen thouland foot, and as

Haughty From the Camp, OWEN & NEAL. Propositions to the 12 March, 1646. Landin MA vd awo T sa sepear betone it; and in this Confidence usid boal

no Beveiled ad a short blown Preston,

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THAT the Exercise of the Romijb A Religion be in Dublin, Drogbeda, and in all the Kingdom of Ireland; as free and publick as it is now in Paris in France, or Bruxels in the Low Countries.

That the Council of State, called ordinarily the Council-Table, be of Members true and faithful to His Majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or fulpicion of going to the Parliament Party

III. That Dublin, Drogheda, Trym, Newry, Catherlagh, Carlingford, within the Protefrant Quarters, be garrifoned by Confederate Catholicks, to maintain and keep the CHORS.

Of the Affairs of Ireland.

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the faid City and Places for the Use of our Sovereign Lord King Charles and his lawful Successors, for the Defence of this Kingdom of Ireland

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ep he That the present Council of the Confederates, shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain for the Use of his Majesty and his lawful Successors, and for the Defence of the said Kingdom of Ireland, the above City of Dublin, Drogbeda, and all other Forts, Places, and Castles as above.

That the Council and all General Officers and Soldiers whatfoever, do swear and protest to sight by Sea and Land against the Parliamentaries and all the King's Enemies; and that they will never come to any Convention or Article with the said Parliamentaries, or any the King's Enemies to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Rights, or of this Kingdom of Ireland.

That according to our Oath of Association, we will, to the best of our Power and Cunning, defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the King's Right, the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects. His Excellence is prayed to make Answer to the above Propositions at farthest by two of the Clock in the Asternoon, upon Thursday next.

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V.

VI.

John Preston,
Owen & Neal.

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The Diffi Let all dispassionate Men now consider cutties the what could the Marquels do, his Quarters lay under. were to freight and narrow, that they could yield no Support to the few Field Forces he had left, all his Garrisons belieg'd without an Enemy, being destitute of all Provisions within, and lo block'd up by the Rebels Ships, which kept all Manner of Trade and Supplies from thence that Way. All the Army he had for the Field and Garrisons amounted not to 500toFoot and 400 Horse, without Cloaths, Money, or fix'd Arms, and with fo inconfiderable a Store of Ammunicion, that when the Nuncio was upon his March, with both the bigh Generals, and their united Power, towards Dublin, he had not in that most important Citys the Metropolitan of that Kingdom, more than Fourteen Barrels of Powder; not only the Inhabitants, but the Soldiers themselves impatient of the Distresses they were in, and which inevitably they law must fall on them and they who had before prefum'd in Corners and Whitpers to tax the Marquess as not being zealous enough for the English Interest, and too credulous of what was promis'd and undertaken by the Irish, had the Boldness to murmur aloud at him, as if he had combin'd with the Irifb to put all into their Hands. They who from the Beginning of the Troubles had been firm and unshaken in

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in their Libraity to the King; and chearfully futhered great Losses, and had undercone gries Hazarda for being lo, and had been of the those confrant Affection to and conidende in the Manuels, and resolv due ohey him in whatflower he should order for the king's bervice; for the conducting whereaf he was folely and entirely intrusted by ohis Mejeffy; could not yet endure to think of chaing put into, or falling under the Power of the drift, who by this new Breigh of Faith, had made themselves uttelly impossible before determine affinite for what security could they publickly give for Performance of any Contract, which they had quot lately given, for the Oblervation of that whichforing an only they had received from & That as there wanted not mental followithin the City, and of the Soldiers, who undertook to imprize the Caffle, and to feize on the Perfonnof the Lord Lieutename, and to deliver both to the English Rebeisy and had for mean executed that Defign, Xthat they had in the Morning furprisid the Guard, and were possess of the principal Port in the Caffle; fo the rest did for fare prefer a Submission to the English Rebelsus (who then pretended a Resolution to return to their Obedience to the King, and were upon Treaties to that End) before their submitting to the Irish, that the Marquess had not Power enough to proceed

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ceed upon that Conspiracy with such Sever rity as was necessary, lest too many might be found to be involved in that Guilt, and fome of too much Interest and Credit to be brought to Justice, whereupon he found it to be absolutely necessary to make a Shew of inclining to the English, and sent to the Ships then riding in the Bay of Dublin, that they would transport some Commissioners to the Parliament from him to treat about the Surrender of the City, and other Garrisons under his Command, which Proposition was most greedily embrac'd by them, and the Perfons deputed accordingly convey'd into England. By this Means the Marquels was forthwith supply'd with Lieutenant the Captains of those Ships deliver d'to him, treat with without which he could have made no De-

The Lord

beed

a confiderable Proportion of Powder, which the Parlia-fence against the Nuncio; and hereby the Irish had a fair Warning to bethink themfelves in Time of returning to their Duty, fince they might difcern, that if they would not fuffer Dublin to continue in the King's Obedience, it should be deliver'd to them, who would deal less graciously with those, and had Power enough to punish those Indignities which had been offer'd, and the Marquess was still without other Engagements than to do what he should judge most conducing to his Majefty's Service and so Varonely had not power enough to pro-

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This last Consideration made such Impression upon them, that when they saw. the Ships return from England, with Supplies of Soldiers, Money, and great Store which more of Provision, and the Commissioners to inclines the treat with the Marquels for putting all in- Peace. to their Hands, the Irish seem'd less united among themselves, and more desirous to make Conditions with the Lord Lieutenant and General Prefton, and his Officers frankly enter'd into a Treaty with the Marquels of Clanrickard, whom the Lord Lieutenant authoriz'd to that End, and with deep and solemn Oaths undertook and promis'd to fland to the Peace, and from that time forward to be obedient to his Majesty's Authority, and to join with the Marquels of Ormand against all those who should refuse to submit to them. On the other Side, the Commissioners from the two Houses of Parliament, who were admitted into Dublin to treat with the Lord Lieutenant, observing the very ill Condition the Town was in, besieg'd by two strong Ar- Butheightmies, by whom they within every Hour ex- ens the pected to be affaulted, concluded, that the Parlia-Want of Food and all Necessaries for De-ment Comfence would compel the Marquess, with the Importuning and Clamour of the Inhabitants and Soldiers, to receive Supply of Men, Money, and Victuals (which they had brought) on any Terms, and therefore infifted to

infifted on very unreasonable and extravagant Demands, and refus'd to confene that the Marquels should fend any Mellenger to the King, that upon Information how the Caule flood, he might receive his Majefty's Directions what to do, and without which he was always refolv'd not to proceed to any Conjunction with them, and fo had privately dispatch'd several Expresses to the King (as foon as he difcern d clearly that the Irish were so terrify'd by the Nuncio and his Excommunication, that there was little hope of Good from them) with Information of the State of Affairs, and expected every Day a Return of fome of the faid Messengers, with the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure. All Things being in this Posture, the Commissioners from the two Houses return'd again to their Ships, and carry'd all the Supplies they had brought to the Parliament Garrisons, in the Province of Ulfter, being so much more incens'd against the Lord Lieutenant for declining an entire Union with them, and inclining (as they fay he did) to a new Confidence in the life, collect of before

The Marquels of Claurickard had an entire Trust from the Lord Lieutenant as a Person superior to all Temptations, which might endeavour to lessen or divert his Aftection and Integrity to the King, and his Zeal to the Romish Religion in which he had

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had been bred, and to which he had most constantly adher'd, was as unquestionable: He had taken very great Pains to render the Peace which had been fo long in Confultation, effectual to the Nation, and had very frankly, both by Discourse and Writing, endeavour'd to diffwade the Nuncio to elsew from proceeding by those rough Ways, Claprick which he forelaw were like to undo the Nation, and dishonour the Catholick Religion: He found General Preston and the Officers of his Army less transported with Passion and a blind Submission to the Authority of the Nuncio, than the other, and that they profess'd greater Duty and Obedience to the King, and that they feem'd to be wrought upon by two Conclusions which had been infus'd into them; the one was, that the Lord Lieutenant was fo great an Enemy to their Religion, that the' they Jealoufies should obtain any Conditions from the of the Irish. King, (to their Advantage in that Particular) he would oppose and not consent unto the fame: The other was That the King was now in the Hands of the Scots, who were not like to approve of the Peace which had been made, (all that Nation in Ulfter refuling to submit unto it) and if they fhould procure any Order from his Majesty to dilavow it, the Lord Lieutenant would undoubtedly obey. "There specious Infufions the Marquels of Clanrickard endeavour'd THE SE. E 4

Removed by the Marard.

to remove, and undertook (upon his Honour) to use all the Power and Interest he had in the King, Queen, and Prince, on behalf of the Roman Catholicks, and to procure them fuch Liberties and Privileges, for the free Exercise of their Religion, as they could reasonably expect, and under-Clanrick- took, that the Lord Lieutenant would acquiesce with such Directions as he should receive therein, without Contradiction, or Endeavours to do ill Offices to the Catholicks. He farther promised, that if any Order should be procur'd from the King, during the Restraint he was then under, to the Disadvantage of the Catholicks, he would suspend any Obedience thereunto, until fuch time as his Majesty should be at Liberty, and might receive full Information on their Behalf. And upon the Marquess of Clanrickard's positive undertaking those Particulars, and the Lord Lieutenant having ratify'd and confirm'd all the Marquess had engag'd himself for, General Freston, and all the Officers under his Command, Sign'd this entuing Engagement.

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The Irish WE the General, Nobility, and Officers of the Confederate Catholick Forces, do So-General Preston, lemnly bind and engage our selves, by Honour and and bis of Daniel Branch of Contlemen and Soldiers and by ficers, en Reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, and by ter into an the facred Protestation upon the Faith of Ca-Engagetholicks in the presence of Ahnighty God, both ment. for

for our felves, and (as much as in us lies) for all Persons that are, or shall be under our Command, That we will from the Date bereof forward, submit, and conform our selves enurely and sincerely to the Peace concluded and proclaim'd by his Majesty's Lieutenant, with fuch additional Concessions and Securities, as the Right Honourable, Ulick Lo, Marquest of Clanrickard bath undertaken to procure and secure to us, in such Manner, and upon such Terms as is express'd in his Lordship's Undertaking and Protestation of the same Date, bereunto annex'd, and Sign'd by himself: And we upon his Lordships Undertaking, engage our selves, by the Bond of Honour and Conscience abovesaid, to yield entire Obedience to his Majesiy, and to his Lord General, and General Governour of this Kingdom, and to any deriving Authority from them by Commission, to command us in our several Degrees; and that according to such Orders as we shall receive from them, faithfully to serve his Majesty against all bis Enemies or Rebels, as well within this Kingdom, as in any other Part of his Dominions, and against all Persons that shall not joyn with us upon these Terms, in Submission to the Peace of this Kingdom, and to his Majesty's Authority. And we do farther engage our selves, under the said solemn Bonds, that we will never, directly, nor indirectly, make use of any Advantage or Power, wherewith we shall be intrusted, to the obliging of his Majesty Major

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jesty on his Ministers, by any kind of Force to grant unto us any thing beyond the faid Marquess of Clanrickard's Undertaking, but shall wholly rely upon his Majesty's own free Goodness, for tobat farther Graces and Fayours be shall graciously please to confer upon his faithful Catholick Subjects, according to their Obedience and Merit in his Service. And we do farther protest, that we shall never think our selves disoblig'd from this Engagement, by any Authority or Power whatsoever, provided, on both Parties, this Engagement and Undertaking be not understood, or extend to debar and binder his Majesty's Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, from the Benefit of any farther Grace or Favour, which his Majesty may be graciously pleas'd to concede to them upon the Queen's Mediation, or any other Treaty abroad.

This was done about the End of November, 1646. The Nuncio, with the other Army under Owen O Neal, having been about the same time compell'd to raise the Seige, and to retire for want of Provision; whereupon the Marquels of Clamickard was made (by quess of the Lord Lieutenant) General of the Army, and made and was accordingly received as such by General of neral Preston's Army, being drawn in Batthe Army.

tallia, and General Preston receiving, at the same time, a Commission from the Lord Lieutenant to command as Sergeant Major

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Majori General, and immediately under the Marquels of Clarrickard; and thorthy after General Rection had Order from the Lord Lieutenant, to march with as firong a Body as he could draw out of his Garrifons, to Kilkenny, where he promised to meet him with his Army, that so, being united, they might compel the rest to submit to the Peace.

When the Marquess was come within less than a Day's March of the Place assign'd by General Presson for the meeting and joyning their Forces together, the Marquess of Clarrickard, who attended upon the Lord Lieutenant, receiv'd a Letter from Presson to this Effect.

That his Officers, being not Excommunica- Defetion tion Proof, were fallen from him to the Nun- of Precio's Party, and therefore wished that the ficers. Lord Lieutenant would proceed no farther, but expect the Issue of a general Assembly that would be shortly convened at Kilkenny, where, he doubted not, but things would be set right by the Consent of the whole Kingdom; which, he said, would be much better for his Maje-sty's Service, than to attempt forcing the Peace

Upon this new Violation of Faith, the Marquels was compelled, after some Weeks Stay in his Quarters, to return again to Dublin, where the Commissioners who had been lately there from the two Houses of Parliament,

upon those who were so averse to it.

Parliament, had fow'd fuch Seeds of Jealoufy and Discontent; and the Treachery and perfidious Carriage of the Irish had awaken'd them to fuch terrible Apprehen-

fions, that the Inhabitants refus'd to contribute further to the Payment and Support of the Army, and, in truth, were for far exhausted by what they had paid, and so impoverish'd by their total Want land Decay of Traffick and Commerce, that they were not able much longer to contribute; fo that the Marquels was forc'd in the cold and wet Winter, to draw out his half flarv'd and half naked Troops, only to lye in the Enemy's Quarters, where yet he would fuffer no Act of Hostility to Herdships be committed, or fuffer any thing to be taken but Victuals for the Subfistance of his Men: And in this uneafy Posture he resolv'd to expect the Result of the next General Assembly, which he suppos'd could not be so constituted but that it would abhor the Violation of their former Contracts and Agreements, and the inexcusa-

ble Prefumption and Proceeding of the Congregation of the Clergy at Waterford; and that it would vindicate the Honour and Faith of the Nation from the Reproaches it lay under, and from the extravagant Jurisdiction and Power which the Nuncio had affum'd to himself to exercise over the Kingdom: But he quickly found

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The Marquess reduc'd to great

Parliament

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himfelf again disappointed and (to the universal Wonder of all) the new Affentbly publish'd a Declaration of a very new Nature o For whereas the Nuncio and his Council had committed to Prison those Noblemen and Gentlemen who had been Commissioners in treating and concluding the Peace, and had given out Threats and Menaces, that they should lose their Heads for their Transgressions, the Assembly prelently fet them at Liberty, and declar'd That the Commissioners and Council had faithfully and succeedly carried and demeaned themselves in the said Negociation, persuant, and according to the Trust reposed in them; and yet in the same Declaration, declar'd, That they might strange not accept of, or submit unto, the faid Peace; Proceedand did thereby protest against it, and did General declare the same invalid, and of no Force, Assembly. to all Intents and Purposes; and did further declare, That the Nation would not accept of any Peace not containing a sufficient satisfacton Security of their Religion, Lives, Estates, and Liberties of the said confederate Catholieks, and what they understood to be fufficient and fatisfactory for Religion, approv'd by the Propositions publish'd before by the Congregation at Wareford, which they had caus'd the People to fwear that they would infift upon; and which, instead of providing a Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion, had, in truth, prov'd for whole

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for the Extirpation of the Pilotestants, Iwhen they should think fit oto put the same in Execution. Nor was the only Argument and Excuse which they published for these Proceedings, more reasonable thinguhe Proceedings themselves which was allow the Concessions and Bromises made conto when by the Earl of Glannorgan, were much larger, and greater Security for their Religion aban those consented to by the Marques: Whereas, in truth those Concellions and Promises made by the Earl, were disown d and dif avow'd by the Lord Lieutenant before the Conclusion of the Reace, and the Earl committed to Prison for his Presumption; which, tho it produced fome Intersuption in the Treaty, yet was the fame after refum'd, and the Peace concluded and proclaimed upon the Articles formerly men tion'd So that the Atlegation of what had been undertaken by the Earl of Glamorgan can be no Excuse for the violating the A greenient afterwards concluded with the marghest red tibe and confeder Range

Caufe render'd

The Royal This dast wonderful Act put a Period to all Hopes of the Marquels, which Cha desperate. rity and Compassion to the Kingdom and Nation, and his differning Spirit, (what inevitable Ruin and Destruction both must undergo from that Diffemper of Mind which poffers'd them) had follong kept up against his Experience and Judgment; and they whole whose Natures Dispositions, and Interests made them most averse from the Rebels of grew more affrighted at the England, Thoughts of falling under the Power of the Irifh: So that all Perfons of all Humours and Inclinations who liv'd under his Government, and had Dislike and Jealousies enough against each other, were yet united and reconcil'd in their Opinions against the hip. The Council of State belought the Lord Lieutenant To confider whether it were Reasons for possible to bave any better Security from them putting for the Performance of any other Agreement into the be fould make, than he had for the Perfor Hands of mance of that which they now recede from and life rather disclaim; and fince the Spring was doming on than of the whereby I the Number, Power, and Strength Irish. of their Enemy would be encreased on all Sides, and their Hopes of Succour or Relief for themselver was desperate, and so it would be only in his Blection, in whose Power he would put those who had deserved as well from his Majesty by doing and fuffering as much as Subjects could do, into the Hands of the English, who could not deny them Protection and Justice, or of the Irish, who had musbaly despoild them of their Fortunes, and profesured them with Animosivies and Graelty, but declar'd by their Carringe, that they were not capable of Security under them: They therefore intreated him to fend again to the tood Houses of Parliament and make some Agreement with them, which toreign might

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y fe might probably be for their Preservation; where as with the other, whatever could be done,

was evident for their Destruction,

That which, among other things of Importance, made a deep Impression on the Marqueis, was, the Knowledge that there had been from the Beginning of those Treaties, a Defign in the principal Contrivers of them, entirely to alienate the Kingdom of Ireland from the Crown of England, to extirpate not only the Protestants, but all the Catholicks who were derived from the English, and who, in truth, are no less odious to the old Irifb, than the other, and to put themselves into the Protection of some foreign Prince, if they should find it impossible to erect some of the old Families; and low wild and extravagant foever the Attempt might be reasonably thought, in regard, not only all the Catholicks of the English Extraction, (who were in Quality and Fortune much superior to the other) but many noble and much the best Families of the ancient Irifh, perfectly abhorr'd and abominated the fame: Yet it was apparent that the violent Part of the Glergy that now govern, had really that Intention, and never intended more to fubmit to the King's Authority, who oever should be intrusted with it; and it had been propos'd in the last Assembly, by Mr. Anthony Martin and others, that they should call in a foreign duem

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foreign Prince to their Protection, and the exorbitant Power affum'd by the Nuncio, was earnest enough how little more they meant to have to do with the King, and gave no less Umbrage, Offence, and Scandal to the Catholicks of Honour and Discretion, than it incens'd those who bore no kind of Reverence to the Bishop of Rome.

Upon this Confideration, it was believ'd more prudent and agreeable to the Trust repos'd in him, to deposite the King's Interest, and the Rights of the Crown, in the Hands of the Lords and Commons of England, who still made great Professions of Duty and Submiffion to his Majesty, and from whom (how rebellious foever their present Actions were) it might probably return to the Crown, by Treaty or otherways, in a fhort time, than to trust it with the Irifo, from whom nothing less than a chargeable War would ever recover it, in what State soever the Affairs of England should be; and how lasting, bloody, and costly the War might prove by the Intermedling and Pretences of foreign Princes, was not hard to conclude.

While the Marquels was in this Confultation and Deliberation, he received Information, that the King was delivered by the Scots to the Commissioners of the two Houses of Parliament, who were then F

treating with him for the fettling of Peace in all his Dominions, and about the fame time, Persons of Quality arriv'd at Dublin, having been privately dispatch'd with Signification of his Majelly's Pleafure, upon the Advertisement he had received of the Condition of Ireland, to this Purpole, Than His Maje of it were possible for the Marques to keep Dublin and the other Garrisons underwibe to the Mar- fattie entire Obedienes to bis Majesty But if there were, ir should be, a Neversity of giving them up to any other Power, be should rather but them into the Plands of the English, than of the Iriffi, which was the Rule the Marquels was to guide Himself by, who had likewile his other very important Con-fiderations, which (If all the rest had been away) had been chough to have Inclin'd

the Crownworthless rad of mid The King was now in the Power and the Hands of those who rais d the War a gainst him, principally upon the Oredit of thole Reproaches and Scandals that had perswaded the People to a Belief of his Inclination to Popery, and of his contriving, or, at least, countenancing the Rebellion in Ireland, in Which To much Protestant Blood had been fo wantenly and cruelly let out. The Cellation formerly made and continu'd with those Rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necellarily enter'd into, had been the most unpopular

fry's Infructions quess.

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As the King had ever done, and had wrongfully contributed to the Reputation of the two Houses of Parliament; so that, if according to the general Opinion then current, there should a Peace enfue between the King and them, (as most Men conceiv'd must be) the King's Forces being totally suppress d there, and his Majesty condecending to many Grants, which they ought not in Dury to have demanded; for few Men suspected such prodigious wickedness to be in their Purpole, as was iffer executed;) his Majesty would lose nothing by the Parliament's being poffers'd of Dublin, and the other Towns then in the contrary, if they intended, indeed, to purfue his Majesty with continu'd and new Reproaches, and thereby to make him fo odious to his Subjects, that they might with more Facility and Applaule, execute their horrible Conspiracy against his Life; there could be nothing to disadvantageous to his Majesty, as the Surrender of Dublin to the hill Confederates, which being done by the King's Lord Lieutenant, who was known to punctually devoted to his Obedience, would be eafily interpreted to be by his Majesty's Directions, and so make a Confirmation of all they had publish d of that kind; and among the ignorant feduc'd People, might have been a Countenance

tenance to (though nothing could be a Justification of) their unparallel'd Dealings.

The Marpofes to deliver Dub-English Rebels.

Hereupon the Marquels took Refoluquess pro- tion, since he could not possibly keep it himself, to deliver it into the Hands of lin to the the English; and to that Purpose sent again to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, that he would surrender Dublin and the other Garrisons to them, upon the same Conditions they had before offer'd; and they quickly dispatch'd their Ships, with Commissioners, Men, Money, and all other Provisions necessary to take the same into their Possession. The Confederate Catholicks were no fooner in-form'd of this, but they fent away to the Lord Lieutenant an Overture of Accommodation, (as they call'd it) yet the Mel-fengers intrusted by them were so wary, lest, by accepting indeed what they propos'd, they might be oblig'd to a Conunction; that they refus d to give their Propositions in Writing; and when, upon their Discourse, the Lord Lieutenant had written what they had propos'd, and shew'd it to them, albeit they could not deny but that Irish Con- it was the same, yet they refus d to Sign it, whereby it was very natural to conclude the Overture was made by them, only to lay fome Imputation upon the Marquels, of not being necessitated to agree with the two Houses of Parliament, rather than with tenance

Which alarms the federates.

with any Purpose of submitting to the King's Authority. At last, being so far press'd, that they found it necessary to let the Marquess know in plain Terms, what he was to trust to; they fent him a Message in Writing, in which they declar'd That they must insist Their oupon the Propositions of the Clergy, formerly verture to mention d to be agreed at Waterford, and to bim. SER MANA which they had sworn, and that if he would O' MAY have a Cessation with them, he must promise er laski not to receive any Force from the two Houses wenth and of Parliament in Six or Seven Months; not proposing any Way in the mean time, how his Majesty's Army should be maintain'd, nor any thing but Submission to all their unreasonable Demands.

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Notwithstanding all which, the Parliament failing to make speedy Performance of what they had promis'd, and the Marquels having it thoroughly in his Power fairly to comply with the Irish, if they had yet received the Temper and Discretion that might justify him; he fent again to them, as well an Answer to their Overture of Accommodation, as an Offer not to receive any Forces from the two Houses for the Space of three Weeks, if they would, during that time, fubrait to a Cellation, that a full Peace might be concluded and agreed upon to which Motion they never vouchfifed to return any Affiver. About the faire time Owen O' Neal wilely forefeeing FF34

that the Nuncio, or the supreme Council, did not enough consider or forelee the evil Consequences that would naturally attend the Lord Lieutenant's being compell'd to leave the Kingdom, and to put Dublin and other Garrisons into the Posselsion of the English Rebels, sent his Nephew, Daniel O Neal to the Marquess with a Message, That if the Marquess with a Message, That if the Marquess would accept of a Cessation for two Months, which be believed the Assembly or supreme Council would propose, (with what Mind soever) he would promise to undertake to continue it sortwelve Months, and in that time he would use his utmost Power to procure a Pease.

(1)

Message from O Neal to the Marquess.

His Cha-

Owen O Neal was a Man of a haughty and positive Humour, and rather hard to be inclin'd to submit to reasonable Conditions, than easy to decline them or break his Word when he had confented. The Lord Lieutenant return'd him answer, That if he would give him his Word to continue the Cessation for a full Year, he would accept it, when propos'd by the supreme Council for two Months, and he would in the mean time wave any farther Treaty with the Parliament, But he fent him word, He would not bind himself to this Promise longer than fourteen Days, if he did not in that time receive such a positive Effect of his Overture, as the expected of Open O Neal accepted of the Conditions, and with F 3 that

all possible Speed dispatch'd his Nephew, He mrites Daniel O Neal, to the supreme Council at preme Clonnell, with a Letter containing his Ad- council for vice, and another to the Bishop of Cloyber, a Cossation (his chief Confident) to whom he fent Reaions at large, which ought to induce the Nuncio to desire such a Cessation. But His Advice when the Council receiv'd the Letter, and how reknew that the Lord Lieutenant expected an Answer within fourteen Days, they refoly'd to return none till the fourteen Days flould be expired; and in the mean time committed Daniel O Neal to Prison, that he might not return to his Uncle ; and when the time was past, they releas'd him, on condition he should return no more into his Quarters; fo that in the End the Commissioners from the two Houses having perform'd all on their Parts that was to be perform'd, the Marquels deliver'd up Dub-The Mar. lin, and the other Garrisons, into their quess con-Hands, and was transported, with his Fa-frain'd to mily, into England, where they admitted Dublin, him to wait upon the King, and to give English his Majesty an Account of his Transactions, Rebels, who received him most graciously, as a and leave Servant who had highly merited of him; and fully approv'd of what he had done.

Since then, upon the most strict and impartial Examination of those Proceedings, Malice it self cannot fix a colourable Imputation upon the Marquels, of the Want

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of that Fidelity and Discretion which was requisite to preserve his Majesty's Interest, or of any Absence of a singular Affection and Compassion towards the People, who have the Honour to be of the fame Nation with him; they endeavour'd to get it believ'd, by dark and obscure Expressions, that in the Articles he made before the Delivery of Dublin, he intended his own par-False as-ticular Benefit and Advantage, and objected to him, that he confented to have thirteen thousand Pounds paid to his own use and behoof, and that the fame was paid by them, and receiv'd by him accordingly; and fo they would perfwade the World, that the Person which frankly exposed the greatest Fortune and Estate that any Subiect had in either of the three Kingdoms, and who, while he was possest of any Part of it, made all worthy Men, in Want, Owners of it with him, could betray a Trust for a vile Sum of Money, and could be so sottish as to make that infamous Bargain, and infert it into the Articles which were to be view'd and perus'd by all Men; whereas he might as easily have driven that Traffick with fuch Secrecy, that it could neverhave been discover'd, if he had meant it should be secret: And therefore how im-

pertinent soever this Discourse may appear,

those who (knowing the Impossibility of

the Scandal) think any thing like a Vindi-

cation to give too much Honour to it, yet it may not be altogether useless to set down the whole Matter, that the Malice and Indistriction of the Calumniator may be more evident, which was as follows:

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When the Confederate Catholicks fo to-Vindicatally violated and disclaim'd the Peace, tion of the which had been with all Solemnity agreed and enter'd into, and were preparing to unite all their Armies under an entire Obedience to the Nuncio, that they might in an Instant seize upon Dublin, and the few other Garrisons where the King's Authority was submitted unto, the pressing Neceffities and Streights the Lord Lieutenant was then in, are before mention'd and remember'd; The Fortifications and Works were in most Places too weak to keep out an Enemy; No Magazine of Victuals to endure a Seige; No Money to retain Soldiers from mutinying, till he might obtain Relief from England; (which he must have been compell'd to defire) There was no Way to prevent the fatal Issue of those Diffresses, but by procuring a present Supply of Money, which might in some Degree provide for each Extremity; and for the compaffing hereof, he brought in all his own Money, which, upon the Sale or Mortgaging of feveral Parcels of his Estate, he had rais'd for the Support of himself and his Family, and became likewife bound to bursd

other Persons for considerable Sums, with an express Promise, upon his Honour, that whatfoever Course he should be compelled to take, if he should be force to deliver Dublin into the Hands of the Parliament. (which was the most visible Remedy all Men forefaw would in case of Necessity be laid hold of) he would make fuch Conditions for the Repayment of the Money, which, upon that Occasion, should be lent, that he would not himself quit the Place till it were perform'd: And by these Means alone, and upon these Terms, he procur'd fo much Money as compos'd the present Distemper of the Soldiers, and supply'd those Wants that could not be borne.

This was fo publick an Engagement, that no Man could be ignorant of it, infomuch as before the first Overture for a Treaty was fent to the Parliament, the Privy-Council, after they had advis'd the Lord Lieutenant to demand all that he had difburs'd upon the publick Service, and what he had been hinder'd from receiving of his own Rents, by those who commanded under the Parliament, and in their Quarters (which the Marquels refus d to do) appointed Sir James Ware Auditor General to his Majesty; and one of the Privy-Council, to examine the Accounts of those Disburiements which had been laid out upon the Garrifons, and borrow'd and dif-

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burs'd upon the Conditions aforesaid; and upon his Certificate, the Lords of the Council declar'd, by an Instrument under their Hands, that the Sum amounted to thirteen Thouland Pounds, thirteen Shillings and four Pence; a Duplicate of which Certificate was lent to the Parliament by those Gentlemen who were first sent to demand Treaty, and the Commissioners who came first to Dublin, frankly, and without Dispute; consented to pay the same; so that if that Sum of Money had been the Confideration of delivering the Town, it would not have been fo long after. When he was a fecond time necessitated to send to the Parliament, and offer'd to put the Town into their Hands, upon the Conditions before confented to by them, he demanded that 8000 l. of the Money might presently be paid in England to Persons intrusted by him, and 3000 l. at Dublin before the Delivery of the Town, towards the Satisfaction of what had been borrow'd as aforefaid; and that Bills of Exchange, accepted by good and responsible Merchants might be deliver'd to him; all which they consented to, and promis'd to perform: But when the Commissioners came to Dublin, the Bills which they brought for 19000 l. were not accepted, nor drawn musch manner as might make them valid; apon which failing on their Part, the Lord their Lieutenant

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Lieutenant made those last Offers to the Irifb, which are before remember'd: But finding no good to be done there, he was content to take the Words and Protestations of the Commissioners, that the faid 10000l. should be paid as soon as they arrivd in England; which they were again To far from making good, that they paid him only inconfiderable Sums at feveral Payments, and had the greatest Part still in their Hands when he was forc'd to leave the Kingdom, and which he could never recover from them, they paying it to some of the Creditors without any Confent of his and only to fuch as had interest among them, and for whose Sake alone they paid the same.

If the Marquels would have been to careful and follicitous for himself, as in Justice and Honour he might have been, he might well have infifted to have had the two Houses of Parliament to have paid him a greater Sum of Money which was due to him by their own Contract, as Lieutenant General of the Army, to the Ceffation, which would have amounted to no less than and on b review and which was paid into their Hands upon that Accompt, and he might likewise have demanded a Recompence, as arising out of the Revenue of his Land which lay in the Quarters, which they had for some Years hinder'd him from receiving, and taken the fame to their Lieutenant

their own use; and no Question, if he had demanded either, or both of those just Payments, the English would easily have comply d with him; and his Friends had much more reason to have reproach'd him for not requiring the one, than his Enemies have for receiving the other; but his too nice Consideration of what the Malice of Men might lay, prevail'd more with him than the sober Conclusion of what he might in Justice and Honour have done, to wave all manner of Conditions which might be thought singly to relate to his own particular Advantage and Benefit, how reasonable and just soever.

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It was in the time when the Army had gotten the King into their Hands, (having taken him from Holimbye out of the Custody of the Commissioners, to whom the 3 116 12 22 23 Scots had deliver'd him) that the Marquess arriv'd in England, and found to many spe-treachery cious Pretences and Professions publish'd of the Enby that Party, who then had the whole my.

Power in the Army, and consequently in the Kingdom, that very many believ d his Majesty's Affairs to be in no ill Condition, and more feeming Respect was paid to his Person, and less Restraint upon the Resort of his faithful Servants to him, than had been from the Time that he put himself into the Scots Power. The Army then took upon them the Government of the Kingdom,

An HISTORICAL VIEW

Kingdom, having folemally declar'd, That there could be no reasonable Hope of a firm and lafting Peace, if there was not as fpecial Care taken to prefer we the Imerest of the King, Queen, and Prince, at of the Liberty of the People, and that both fhould with equal Care be provided for together: And in this Time of Freedom and hypocritical Compliance the Marquels had all the Liberty of waiting on the King, and gave him their an Account of all Actions, and the Course he had taken for reviving and preserving his Interest in Ireland, by settling a Correfoondence with many Perfons of Honour there, which would keep the two Houles of Parliament from obtaining any absolute Dominion in that Kingdon, if they refuse to return to his Majesty's Obedience, (how great an Advantage loever he had given his mich them by the Delivery of Dublin into their his Maje- Hands) and who were most like to reduce that Nation from the Distemper with which they were transported, and to incline them to that Submillion that was due from them to the King. With all which (as he had great Reason) his Majesty was very graci-oully and abundantly satisfy'd, and gave the Marquels Direction, in case the independent Army should proceed otherways than they pretended, how he should behave himself, and comply with the Irish, if he

could reduce and dispose them to be in-

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fremental towards his and their own Delivery; and when he discover'd by the double Dealing and hypocritical Demeandur of the Officers of the Army, (of whom he had earlier Jealoufy than other Men, as feeing further into their dark Delign) the little Good they meant him, and so found it fit to receive Overtures from the Scoti Commissioners, who were still admitted to reide at London, and to bear a Part in the Managery of the publick Affairs, and now aw that the Independents Power, which they had to much despis'd, was grown fu perior to them, and that they meant to perform nothing less than what they had fo religiously promis d before the King was deliver'd up at Newcastle. The King commands the Marques to confer with the principal Persons of that Commission, who feem'd very fentible of the Dishonour their Nation had incurred, and refolv'd by uniting the Power of that Kingdom for his Original Majeffy's Service, to undo fome of the f Duke of Milchiefs they had wrought, and defir'd ton's Enthat the Marquels of Ormand would like gogement. wife transport himself into Ireland, to try once more if he could compole the Humours of that People to his Majesty's Obedience, that to those two Kingdoms being entirely reduc'd to their Duty, might (with that Affiltance they were like to find in England) perswade the violent Party to comply

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comply with those moderate and just Conclusions, which would establish the Peace and Tranquillity of the Whole, in a full Happinels to Prince and People: And from hence was that first Engagement delign'd, which was fo unfortunately conducted by the elder Duke of Hamilton, and concluded with the Ruin of himfelf, and many wor-

thy and noble Perfons you work are nothing

When the Army hads by their civil and specious Carriage and Protessions, disposid the King's Party to with them, at least, bir Maja better than the Presbyterians, (who feem'd to have erected a Model of a more formidable and insupportable Tyranny, and were less induc'd with the Appearance of Humanity and good Nature) and had by shuffling themselves into new Shapes of Government, and admitting Persons of all Conditions to affemble and make Propositions to them, in order to a publick Peace, giving Encouragement to most Men to believe, that all Interests would, in fome Degree, be provided for, and fo had brought themselves into an absolute Power over all Interests; they began to lessen their outward Respect and Reverence to the King to inhibit some of his Servants absolutely to refort unto him, and more, to restrain the frequent Access of the People, who out of an innate Duty and Affection, delighted to fee his Majesty: They comply

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They caus'd Reports to be rais'd and scatter d'abroad of some Intentions of desperate Perforis of Violetice upon his Majesty's Perion; upon this Pretence doubled their Guards, and put Officers of more first The Rebels vigilance and morose Disposition about more stricthim, to that whatfoever he faid, did, or in Ring. was faid to him, was more punctually obfervid. The Marquels of Ormand was look'd upon with a very jealous Eye, and was one of those noble Persons who were known too faithful to his Mafter to be fuffer'd to be near him, and therefore was forbid to continue his Attendance on him.

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The Articles that had been made with him at Dublin by the Commissioners, and confirm'd by the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, were every way violated Violate and infring'd, in the most important Par-their Are ful Fortescue, whose Security was provided questi for by the Articles. In the Delay that was some in us'd in the Payment of the Money due to him, And whereas he was to refide in any Part of England he pleas'd, in all Freedom, for the Space of one Year, without the Impolition of any Oath of Engagement, agsin to and at the End thereof he had Liberty to sal and transport himself and his Family into what foreign Parts he pleas'd: As foon as they began to be unmask'd towards his Majesty, they banish'd the Marquels from London, and bein from forbidding London.

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forbidding him to come within Twenty five Miles of the City, and all this before he had ever spoke with the Scots Commil-sioners, or given them the least Shadow of baying a Heart impossible to be sorrupted towards his Master, and an Hand likely to be of use to him. And shortly agter the King was in the Life of Wight, Directions And give were given to apprehend and leize upon orders to the Marquels of Omnond, who thereupon feize bim. concluding from their wicked Carriage and barbarous Demeanour to his Majesty, whom they had now made their Priloner in the Castle of Carisbrooke, that it would be very impertinent for him to infift upon the Performance, and expostulate for the Breach of the Agreement, which had been made with him, he with all Secrecy transported himlest out of the Kingdom, and army of

He Secretly England safely in France about the End of the Year in France. 1647, having spent in England little more, from the time that he came out of Ireland,

than Six Months

The Marquels no looner found himself at Liberty, and out of the Reach of his He projects Enemies, than he projected again to vilit beland, where his Prelence was impatientagain to ly longed for , when he had left that King-dom upon the Breaches to often repeated visit Ireby the trilly and their Rupid Submillion to

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ber'd) he had specially recommended to the Marquels of Clamickard and Viscount out the Tealt Paule, preferved their Duty to his Majerty entire, and being Roman Cadiolieks had publickly opposed the unreasonable and extravagant Usurpation of the Numero) to use their utmost Power and Dexterity to retain the Affection of that Party of the Irish, who had Been very defirous that the former Peace might have been effectual, and were really inclined to pay all Obedience to his Majeffy, to that they might not be drawn under the Subection of the Nancio, But be ready again to fubmic to the King's Authority, when it should appear again in the Kingdom; and if the Affairs of England should be without Hopes of Compolure : And accordingly the Marquels of Clamickard, by his Interest and Authority in the Province of Conaught, dispos d the People to a Temper, ready to be apply d to those Ends he should direct them. And Viscount Taaffe com manded a good Army of Horfe and Foot in the Province of Whinster, firmly united to obey him in any Action that might contibute to the King's Advantage. The Forces under the Nuncio were much weak en'd, partly by the Defeat of General Preston, whose Army was totally routed and deftroy d by the Parliaments Forces, within G 2

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within less than a Month after they had compell'd the Marquels to leave the Kingdom, and partly by the Dislike which the great Council of the confederate Catholicks had of the Demeanour of the Nuncio, and the Experience they now had of his ill Conduct, and the Miseries he had brought them into, by forcing them to decline the Peace which would have been so advan-

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tageous to them.

The Lord Inchequin, whom (shortly after the first Cessation was consented unto by the Lord Lieutenant) the Irifb, contrary to their Faith, had endeavour'd to surprize. and get the Towns in Munster, under his Command, into their Hands, and thereby compell'd him to defend himself against them by a sharp War, in which he had given them many Overthrows, and in a Manner driven them out of that Province. held Correspondence with the Marquess of Ormand whilst he was in England; and as foon as he came into France, delir'd him to make what hafte he could into Ireland, where he should find the Army under his Command, and all the important Towns in that Province ready to submit to him, to be conducted by him in the King's Service, any Way he should command; and in the mean time he made an Agreement with the Irish, under the Command of the Marquels of Clamickard and the Lord Taaffe within

Lord Inchequin invites bim into Munster.

Thaffer with the Approbation of the supreme Council of the confederate Catholicks, and fent them Part of his Army to affift them The confein an Expedition they were then enter'd derate Caupon against the Nuncio and Owen Roe O make War Neal, in which they prevail'd fo far, that going the Owen On Meal found it necessary to retire Nuncio. into the great Towns, and they drove the Nuncio dimifelf to the Town of Galleway, where they befeig'd him to close with the and befeige Army, that they compell'd the Town, after him in Galway. near two Months Seige, to pay a good Sum of Money to be distributed among the Soldiers, and to disclaim any further Subicaion or Submiffion to the Nuncio's unlimited Jurisdiction; who after he had. with less Success than formerly, issued his Excommunications against all those who comply'd with the Cellation of the Lord Inchequing was compelled, after fo much The Nuncio Mischief some to the Religion which he compel'd was oblig'd to protect, in an obscure Man-Ireland. hersito flyour of the Kingdom. of And because the impudent Injustice and Imprudence of the Nuncio, and the Subectionwof the People to his immoderate and imprudent Humour and Spirit, was, in Truth, the real Fountain from whence

this Torrent of Calamities flow'd, which hath fince overwhelm'd that miserable Nation; and because that exorbitant Power of his was resolutely oppos'd by Catholicks

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of the most eminent Parts and Interests. and (in the End though too late) expell'd by them, it will be but Julice to the Memories of those noble Persons, who themfelves and their Angeltars have been eminent Afferters of the Roman Religion, and peyer departed from a full Submillion to that Church, breifly to collect the Sum of that unhappy Perfon's Carriage and Behaviour, from the time that he was first defign'd to that Employment, to the End, that the Roman Catholick Religion, and the Iris Nation may discern what they owe to his Activity and Government, and that the World may judge how impeffible it was for the Marquels of Ormand to preserve a People, who so implicitely religiand themfelves to the Councils, Directions, and Disposal of such a Nature and Disposition; and in doing hereof no other Language shall The Nuncia be us'd, than what was Part of a Memorial deliver'd by an bonest and zealous Catholick, who was intrusted to complain of the infufferable Behaviour of the Mincio to the Pope himfelf which was in these very Words speaking of the Nuncio lowherein he declar'd bar and so and so and so

Memorial to the Pope against the co Nuncio.

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or Truth, the real Pountain from when THAT, before he left Rome he Would not admir, either in Company, or his Family, any Person of the English " Nation. In his Voyage, before he arriv'd ec at

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Of the Affairs of Ireland.

at Paris, he wrote to his Friends in Rome, with great loy, the News (altho it provid after falle) that the Irillo Confederates had a treacherously surprized the City of Dub-" in, while they were in truce with the Royal Party, and treating about an Ac-Paris, (where he thut himlest up for, many Months) he never vouchfafed (I will not say to participate with the Queen of England) any thing touching his Nunciature, but not in the least Degree to reverence or valit her Majelly, (fave only one time upon the Score of Courtely) as it be had been lent to her Capital Enemy, and not to her own Subploy d all his Power to discove the I rea-ty of Peace with the King, which was then almost brought to Perfection, and his Diligence succeeded, on which he valu'd himself, rejoyc'd and insulted bewyond Measure. In his Letters he wrote to Paris, which were after shew'd to the Queen, (and he may say truely) that in that Kingdom, he hath rather manag'd the Royal Scepter, than the Paltoral "Staff; for that he aimed more to be held the Minister of the supreme Prince of a Ireland in Temporalibus, than a Nuncio from the Pope in Spiritualibus; ma-G 4

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" cil, he hath manag'd the Affairs of the upreme Council of State; he hath by his own Arbitriment excluded from it those who did not second him, though, " by Noblenels of Birth, by Allegiance, by Prudence, and by Zeal to Religion,
they were the most honourable; and
only because they shew'd themselves,
faithful Subjects to their natural Prince,
and Friends to the Quiet of their Coun-"try; of these he bath cans'd many to be imprison'd, with great Disgrace and "Scandal of Sedition: In short, he hath,
assumed a distributive Power both in Ci-,
will and Military Affairs, giving out,
Orders, Commissions, and Powers un-,
der his own Name, subscribed by his, own Hand, and made authentick with, his Seal for the Government of the Armies, and of the State, and Commissions, for Reprisals at Sea. He struck in presently after his Arrival in Ireland, with that Party of the Natives who are esteem'd not only irreconcileable with the English, but the greatest and best Part of the Irish Nobility, as likewise with the most Civil and most Conside-" rable People of that Island; and the bethe hath procurd the Church to be fur-" nish'd with a Clergy and Bishops of the same Temper, excluding those Per-« fons

" fons who were recommended by the Queen, and who for Doctrine and Virtuenwere above Exceptions; and all " this contrary to what your Holinels was pleas'd to promifer The Queen was "not yet discouraged, but to labour'd to renew the Treaty of Peace, already once "broke and disorder'd by Monsieur Rinuccini; that by Means of her Majesty it was not only reasum'd, but in the "End, after great Disputes and Oppo-"litions on his Part, the Peace was concluded between the Royal Party and the confederate Catholicks, and warranted not only by the King's Words but also by the Retention of Arms; Calles and Forts, and of the Civil Magistrates with the Pollession of Churches and Ecclesiastical Benefices, and with the free "Exercise of the Catholick Religion; and all this would have been, exhibited by a publick Decree, and authentick Laws made by the three Estates assembled in a free Parliament : By this Peace and Confederacy they would have refcu'd themselves from the Damages of a ruinous War, have purchas'd Security to their Consciences and of their tem-" poral Estates, honour'd the Royal Party "and the Catholicks in England with a certain Restitution and Liberty of the King, whereon depended absolutely " the ce was

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An Historical View

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the Welfare of the Catholicks in all " his Ringdoms, the Apontolical Chair " had acquitted it fell of all Engagements " and Expence with Hohom and Glory, "This Treaty of Peace, on all Sides lo defrable, Monfieur Randemi Broke with " fuch Violence, that he fore of the War-" quels of Ormond, Vice-Roy of Ireland, MA Affections and Inclinations) into the Arms of the Parliament of England, to the un-"fpeakable Damage of the King and of the Catholicks, not only of Ireland but shallo of England; he intens'd the greatest and ber Part of the High Nobility, and the render'd the venerable Name of the "Hereticks, with intall Satisfaction to the Catholick Princes themselves of Euwope, as though it fought not the spiri-tual good of Souls, but a remporal in-" land; and when the Lord Digby and othe Bord Biron endeavourd, on the Mar-" quels of Ownend's Part, to incline him to a new Treaty of Peace, he did not only "dildain to admit them or to accept the "Overture, but understanding that the " Lord Biron, with great Danger and Ha-" of Westmeath, where he was to speak "with him, he fore'd the Earl, which ce was

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Minvas the chief Lord of its too fend him finaway (contrary to the Laws of Courtefy mand Humanity) in the Night time, ex-Sposld to extraordinary Inconveniences frand Dangers amongst those Distractions, m protesting, that otherwise her himself would immediately depart the Town. By these Proceedings, Monsieur Rinuccini whath given the World occasion to be "lieve that he had private and fecret Com-" mission to change the Government of "Ireland, and to feparate that Island from 5 the Crown of England, and this Opinion fis the more confirm do fince that one "Mahoni, a Jefuit, hath printed a Book "in Pertugal, wherein he endeavours to " prove, that all the Kings of England have Wheen either Tyrants or Ufurpers of Ire-"land, and so tall'a from the Dominion of it, exhorting all its Natives to get thi-"ther, and to use all Cruelty against the "English, with Expressions fall of Vil-" lany and Reproach, and to choose a new "King of their own Country; and this "Book fo barbarous and bloody difpers'd through Ireland, is, as yes, credited by "the Catholicks and Apostolicks there, "and the Continuation of the History of "Cardinal Baronius was publish'd at the "fame time, under the Name of Olderico "Ruynaldo, in which he positively endead "voors to establish the impreme Right

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and Dominion of the Apoltolical Chair, even in Temporalibus, over England and " Ireland: I leave to revery Man to con-55 fider whether all thefe Actions are not "apt enough to beget I Jealousies and and whether I ought " not, out of great Respect to the publick "Good, to represent with some Ardency sto your Holines, the Actions of Mon "fieur Rinuctini, so unpleasant and directly contrary to those Ends, for which it is " suppos'd he was employ'd: And I be " feech your Holiness, if any King, not " only Protestant but Catholick, had feen an Apostolick Nuncio to lord it in his "Dominions in fuch a Manner as Mon-" fietr Rinuccini had done in Ireland, what " Jealoufy, what Complaints, and how "many Inconveniencies would thereby it, exhorting all its Natives towellot?

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This was Part of that Remonstrance prefented to the Pope himself, by an eminent Catholick Minister of great Reputation, on Behalf of the Catholicks of Ireland, who, instead of being relieved and supported, were oppressed and destroyed by the Nuncio; and I presume this Extract will be of greater Authority and Credit with the World, to inform them of the Proceedings there, than any thing statted abroad in an idle Pamphlet can be towards the incensing them

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them against a Person of Honour, whom they know not : And I heartily wish that the Passion and Unskilfulness of that haughty Prelate, may either have an Influence upon the Catholicks to discern the exceeding ill Confequence that must naturally attend fuch violent and unnatural Interpofition, or it may alienate the Affections of Princes from complying with a Power that will prescribe no modest or civil Limits and Bounds to it felf, and incline the Atfections of Protestants to Animosities or uncharitable Conclusions, that the papal Chair affects Sovereignty over the Hearts of her Children, which is inconfiftent with that Duty they owe their Prince, and thereupon to abhor a Conjunction with those to whom they should perform all the Duties and Offices of Christianity, Love, and Friendship, and with whom they ought to contribute a joynt Subjection and Allegiance. to the King, according to the Laws and Policy of the Kingdom, of which they are Subjects.

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After the Marquels of Ormond had, in The Marvain, solicited Supplies of Money in France, quels in
to the end that he might carry some Re-cirs Suplief to a Kingdom so harrass'd and worn, plies from
and be the better able to unite those who
would be sure to have Temptation enough
of Profit to go contrary to the King's Obedience, he was at last compell'd, being
with

Arrives in Ireland with a Small Re-

with great Importunity call'd by the Lord of Inchequin, and the rest who upheld his Majest's Interest, to transport himself un furnish'd with Money, Arms, or Ammus nition, and without any other Retinue than his own Servants, and three or four Friends: and in this Equipage he arriv'd in Ireland about the end of September, in the Year 1648, and landed at Cour, where he was receiv'd by the Lord Inchequing Lord Prefident in the Province of Manfier. It must not be forgotten, that during the time the Marquels was in France, and after the Parliament Forces had, upon fo great Inequality of Numbers, defeated the Irifo, and in all Encounters driven them to their Faft nesses, the confederate Catholicks had eafily difcern'd the Mischeifs they had brought upon themselves, by forcing the King's Authority out of the Kingdom, and introducing another which had no Purpose of Mercy towards them; therefore they had fent the Ld. Marquels of Antrym, the Ld. Viscount Muskerry, and others, as their Commissioners to the Queen of England, and to her Son the Prince of Wales, who were both then at Paris, To befeech them (fince by reason of the King's Imprisonment they could not be fuffer d to apply them-felves to his Majeffy) to take Compassion of the miserable Condition of Ireland, and to restore that Nation to their Protection, ma king

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king ample Professions and Protestations of Dury, and of applying themselves for the furnies to his Majesty's Service, if they might once again be own'd by him, and countenanc'd and conducted by his Authoity Thereupon the Queen and Prince had answer'd those Persons, that they would shortly send a Person qualify'd to treat at the with them, who should have Power to give them whatfoever was requifite to their Security and Happiness. With which Anfwer they return'd well fatisfy'd into Ireland; in that as loop as the Lord Lieutenant was landed at Cork, he wrote to the Assembly writes to of the confederate Catholicks there at Kil-the Affirmhome, that he was upon the bumble Perkenny. tition which they had presented to the Queen and Prince, come with full Power to conclude a Peace with them, and to that Purpose, (that as little time might be lost as was possible) that Commissioners might be fent to him at his House at Carwhither he would go to expect them, within Fourteen Miles of the Place where the Affembly then fate, who were so much gladder of his Presence, by the Obligation they had newly received from the King's Authority; for when the Nuncio and Owen O Neal had thought to have furpris'd them, and compelled them to have renounced the Cullation, the Lord Inchequin being fent unto by them for his Protection, had march'd

The Mar-

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march'd with his Army to their Relief forc'd O Neal over the Shannon, and thereby reftor'd them to Liberty and Freedom: So that they return d a Meffage of Joy and Congratulation to the Lord Lieute nant for his fafe Arrival, and appointed Commissioners to treat with him at the

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the Marquess.

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nos fent to Place appointed. It was the 19th of Ofto treat with ber that the Commissioners came to Cartick a House of the Marques, where they continu'd Twenty Days, which they spent principally in Matters of Religion; in treat ing whereof, they were fo bound and limitted by other Infructions, and could make fo little Progress of themselves, be ing fill to give an Account to the Allembly of whatfoever was propos'd or offer'd by the Lord Lieutenant, and to expect its Determination and Direction before they proceeded, that for the husbanding of Time, which was now very precious, (the Rebels of England every Day more discovering their bloody Purpose towards the King) the Affembly thought fit to defire the Lord Marquels to repair to his own Castle at Kilkenny, which they offer'd to deliver into his Hands, and that for his Honour and Security he should bring his by the Af-own Guards, who should have that Reception due to them: And upon this Invitation, about the Middle of November, he went to Kilkenny; before his Entry into which, march d

The Marquess inwited to Kilkenny Jembly.

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he was met with the whole Body of the Affembly, vand all the Nobility, Clergy, and Country, and in the Town was reter diwith all those requisite Geremonies, by the Mayor and Aldermen, as fuch a Corporation useth to pay to the supreme Authority of the Kingdom; fo that greater Evidence could not be given for an entire Union, in the Defire of returning to the Kingle Obedience, or of more Affection and Transport to the Person of the Lord Lieucenant, who (by his Ready Performance of those Professions he had always made by his Neglect and Contempt of the Rebels, and cheir prodigions Power while he was in England, and by his refunng all Overtures made by them unto him for his Particular Benefity affine would live in the Kingdom, and by their declard manifest Hatred and Malice towards him) was now Superior oto all the Calumnies they had alpers'd him with, and confess d him to be worthy of a joynt Trust from the most difterent or divided Interests and Designs. However, there were to many Pattions, Humours, and Interests to be comply'd with, and all Conclusions to pass the Approbation of formany Votes, that it was the middle of January before all Opinions could be fo refolv'd, as to produce and perfect an entire Contract and Agreement, which about that time pass'd with that miraculous Confent

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fent and Unity, that in the whole Affembly, in which were the Representatives of all the Clergy, there was not one differting So that on the Seventeenth of January, the whole Alfembly repair'd to the Presence of the Lord Lieutemant, in his Castle at Kilkenny, and there, with all Solemniny imaginable, prelented him, by the Hand of their Chairman or Speaker, the Articles of Peace as Peace con-concluded, affented and submitted unto by the whole Body of the Catholick Nation of Ireland, which he receiv'd and folemaly confirm don his Majerry's Behalf, and caused the same that Day to be proclaim'd in that Town, to the great Joy of all that were presents and it was with all Speed accordingly proclaim'd, and as joyfully received in all the Cities and Towns which profess any Allegiance to the King throughout the Kingdom (mand for the better Reception

> Religion and the fecure Practice thereof. When the Articles of Peace were prefented in that folemn Manuer to him by the Affembly, after the Speech made by the Prefenter, the Lord Lieutenant express dhimself in these Words and out that time buls'd with that intraculous Con-

thereof among the People, and to manifelt

the Satisfaction and Joy they took in it,

the Catholick Bilhops fent out their Let

ters and Declarations, that they were abun-

dantly fatisfy'd in whatfoever concern'd

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My Lords and Gentlemen,

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Shall not fpeak to these Expressions Lord Lieuof Duty and Loyalty, digested speech to "into a Discourse by the Gentleman ap-the Affeni-"pointed by you to deliver your Senie; bly. Sayou will prefently have in your Hands "greater and more folid Arguments of his Majefly's gracious Acceptance, than I can H commemorate, or, perhaps, your felves " discover; for besides the Provision made Sagainst the remotest Fears, fear of Seve-Brity of certain Laws, and belides many "Freedoms and Bountles convey'd to you "and your Posterity) by these Articles, Sutheremisitar Doors and that a large one, "non left; but purposely set open to give You Entrance, by your future Merit, to " whatfoever of Horiour and Advantage "you can reasonably wish; so that you Shave hin spresent Fruition what may " abundantly fatisfy, land yet there are no Bounds fet to your Hopes, but you are "rather invited, or, to use another Phrase, "(but to another and better Purpole) you " feem to have a Call from Heaven to exercise your Arms and uttermost Forti-"itude, line the noblest and justest Cause "the World hath feen; for let all the "Circumstances, incident to a great and " good Caule, be examin'd, and they will be found comprehended in the which H 2

100 An HISTORICAL WIEW

circumscrib'd Definition of it, by this or

Religion is our Quarrel, which certainly

s is as much and totally fireclo at (I may

" which you now are warrantably call'd to defend; Religion, not in the narrow

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(a) fay more) by the blatphemous Licence of this Age, than ever it was by the rideft Incursions of the most barbarous and avow'd Enemies to Christianity o The wererable Laws, and the fundamental " Constitutions of our Ancestors are trodden under impious, and (for the molt " part) mechanick Feet! The facred Perse fon of our King (the Life of those Laws " and Head of those Constitutions) is under an ignominious Imprisonment, and " his Life threatned to be taken away by the facriligious Hands of the baselt of the People that owe him Obedience! And (to endear the Quarrel unto you) " the Fountain of all the Benefits you have but now acknowledg'd, and which you so may further hope for by this Peace, and wyour own Merit, is in danger to be ob-" firucted by the execrable Murder of the worthieft Prince that ever rul'd thek Iflands! In Thort, Hell can add nothing to the desperate Mischiefs now openly "projected : And now judge if a greater "and more glorious Field was ever let open to Actions and then prepare your « felves ll'd

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felves to enter into it, receiving those few Advices from him, that is throughly embark'd with you in the Adventure.

First, let me recommend to you, that to this, as to all hely Actions, (as certainly this is) you will prepare your selves with perfect Charity; a Charity that may oblitterate whatever Rancour the long continu'd War may have contracted in you, against any that shall now co-operate with you in so blessed a Work: And let his Engagement with you in this (who ever he is) be, as it ought to be, a Bond of Unity, of Love, and of Concord, stronger than the nearest Tye of

"In the next place, mark and beware
"of those who shall go about to renew
"Jealousies in you, under what Pretence
"loever, and account such as the infernal
"Ministers employ'd to promote the black
"Design on foot, to subject Monarchy,
"and to make us all Slaves to their own
"avaricious Lusts. Away as soon, and as
"much as possible may be, with Distin"ction of Nations and Parties, which are
"the Fields wherein the Seeds of those
"rancorous Weeds are sown by the great
"Enemy of our Peace.

"In the last place, let us all divest our selves of that preposterous and ridiculous Ambition and Self-interest, which rather H 3 "leads

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" hath so determin'd of us) to perish with

" a long glorious Monarchy? And who

" can want Patience to suffer with an op
" press'd Prince? But as your Endeavours,

" so let our Prayers be, vigorous, that he

" may be deliver'd from a more unnatural

"Rebellion, (than is mention'd by any Sto-"ry) now rais'd to the highest Pitch of Suc-

" cels against him. this mon in to not

" I should now say something to you as to my self, in Retribution to the ad"vantageous Mention made of me, and my Endeavours in the bringing this Set"tlement to pass; but I confess my
"Thoughts are taken up with those much greater

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nuch ater " greater Concernments; let it suffice, that s is Livish to be continu'd in your good "Effection, fo I shall freely adventure upon any Hazard, and esteem " no Trouble or Difficulty too great to en-"counter, if I may manifest any Zeal to " this Caule, and discharge some Part of the "Obligations that are upon me to ferve without the Approbation of mobgail with of thole Commissioners afthe Dineer of

It will not be here necessary to insert the Articles of the Peace which are publickly known to the World, it is enough to fay that the Lord Lieutenant granted tall that was enough in the Judgment of all the Roman Catholick Billiops, and even of the Bishop of Femes, requisite to a peaceable fecure Profession of that Religion, with meh Countenance of and Support to it, as from the first planting of it, it had never (in some Respects) been possess d of in that Kingdom, but was likewife compell'd lo far to comply with the Fears and Jealousies of divers, (who by often breaking their Paith, and from a great Guilt, were apprehensive that all that was promis'd to them might not be hereafter observ'd) as to diveft himself of that full and absolute Power that was inherent in his Office, and was never more fit to be exercis'd than for the carrying on of that Defign, in which they feem'd all to agree, and to CIO

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make Twelve Commissioners (hand and chosen by the Assembly to look to the Obfervation and Performance of the faid Ar ticles, until the fame should be ratify'd in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament) joint Sharers with him in his Authority; fo that he could neither levy Soldiers, raile Money, or fo much as erect Garrisons without the Approbation of the major Part of those Commissioners; the Danger of which Limitation and Restraint, he foresaw enough, but found the uniting that People and composing them to an entire Confede racy in the Peace, (which could be compais'd no other Way) was it fo necessary, that he could not facilitie too much to it; and then the Affections and Abilities of the Commissioners were fo well known and approvid by him, that having most of them inclin'd to the fame good End with him, he prefum'd he should, with the less Difficulty, be able to perswade them which were the nearest and most natural Ways that conduc'd thereunto;) perovis housesthe

With what Confent and Amity foever this Peace was made, by those who had any Pretence to Truft, or to whom there was the least Deputation of Authority and Power by the Nation, yet Owen On Neal (who had the greatest Influence upon the Himours and Inclinations of the old Irifb, the Peace who had given thenifelves up to the Nun-

O Neal refuses to Submit to

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do, and who had a better disciplin'd, and confequently a stronger Army, at his Command, than the confederate Catholicks had at their Devotion) still refus d to fubmit to it? fo that the Lord Lieutenant, as foon as the Peace was concluded, was as well to provide against him, as to remove some Garrisons he held, which intested those who obey'd the Act of the Affembly, and to prevent his Incursions, as to raise an Army against the Spring, with which to march against the English Rebels who were possess of Dublin, and all the Country, and important Places in that Circuit, and who (he was fure) would be supply'd with all the Affiftance of Shipping, Men, Money, Victuals and Ammunition, which the inhumane and bloody Rebels of England (who had now murder'd their Sovereign, and incorporated themselves under the Name and Title of a Common-wealth) could fend to them; and he was in a worfe Condition to prevail against both these, by the unhappy Temper and Constitution of the Scots in Ulster, who being very numerous, and possess of the strong Towns, tho' they abhorr'd the English Rebels, and were not reconcil'd to Owen O Neal and his Army, were yet as uninclin'd to the Peace made with the confederate Catholicks, and far from paying an Obedience and full Submission to the Orders and Government of venge the

the Lord Lieutenant, maintaining at the

Difficulties the Marquess bad to struggle

with.

same time the Presbyterian Form in the Church, and an utter Independency in the State; and out of those contradictory Ingredients, compounded fuch a peevifh and wayward Affection to the King, as could not be apply'd to the bearing any Part in the great Work, the Marquels was incumbent to: So that whosever will wisely revolve and confider this wild Juncture of Affairs, and that towards the fubduing the Pride, Strength, and Wealth of the Engglish Rebels, and the equal Malice and Headiness of Owen O Neat and his Party, as much, or, in truth, more contracted against the confederate Catholicks than the King's Authority, and to the forcing and disposing the useless and unprofitable Pretences of Affection in the Scots, and reducing them to Obedience, The Marquess brought over with him neither Man nor Money, nor any Advantage but that of his own Person, Wildom, and Reputation, and was now, upon the Peace, to constitute an Army, not only of several Nations and Religions, and of fuch Palfions and Superciliousness in those Opinions which flow'd from the feveral Religions, but of fuch Men who, for above the Space of Eight Years, had profecuted a sharp War against each other, with all the Circumflances of Animofity, Rapine, and Revenge, orla

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venge, and who were now brought into this Reconciliation and Conjunction, rather by the wonderful Wifdom and Dexterity of the principal Commander, than by their own Charity and Inclination; and that in the forming of this Army, he had not an bove Six or Seven Officers, upon whole Skill in martial Affairs, and Affection to bim, he could with any Confidence depend, but was to make use of very many who were utterly unknown to him, and fuch who either had no Experience in the War, or who had always been in the War against him. I fay, whofoever without Paffion considers all this, will rather wonder that the Marquess did not fink under the Weight of the first Attempt, nay, that he could proceed with Success in any one Enterprize, than that an Army so made up, should, upon the first Mis-adventure, be dissolv'd into Jealousies and Prejudice amongst themfelves, and that all Confusions should follow which naturally attend such Compofitions.) of good bear, when

As foon as the Peace was thus concluded, proclaim'd and accepted, the Lord Lieutenant took the Survey of the Stores of Arms and Ammunition, and other necessary Provisions for an Army, which was to be brought together in the Spring, and found all very thort of what he expected, and what in truth was absolutely necessary

to

to the Work, and Ways for raising Money, with which all the reft was to be supply'd, in no Degree to be depended on the Cities and incorporate Towns, where (upon the Matter) all the Wealth was, having never fubmitted further to the general Affembly, than by declaring themselves to be of their Party, but like so many Common-wealths, order'd all Contributions and Payments of Money by their own Acts and Determinations, nor would, upon the most emergent Occasion, suffer any Money to be rais'd in any other Proportion, than best agreed to their Humour and Conveniency; fo that the Commissioners advis'd the Lord Lieutenant to make a Journey in Person to such of those Corporations as were best able to assist him, and by his own Presence and Interest, endeavour to perswade them to express that Affection for the Peace that they had profess'd. Whereupon he went, with a competent Number of Commissioners, to Waterford, and from thence to Lymerick, and then to Galway, from which feveral Places he procur'd the

Lord Lieu- Loan of more Money, Corn and Ammusicant borrows Mo-nition, than the great Affembly had ever
ney of the been able to do; and by these Means,
which cost him much Labour and Time, he
found himself in a Condition to draw several Forces together; which he did about
the beginning of May, having made the

Lord

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Lord Inchequin, Lieutenant General of the Promotions Army The Earl of Castlehaven, Lieute in the Arnant General of the Horfe; And the Lord Taaffe, Masternof the Ordnance; and it being thought fit to lofe as little Time as might be in marching towards Dublin, as foon as any confiderable Number of Men were once together, he fent the Earl of mat was Castlehaven with them, to take in leveral zario Ca-Garrisons which were possess'd by Owen O stlehaven Neul in the Queen's County, which was the of o Neals Way he intended to march, and would have Garrisons. no Enemy in the Rear; and accordingly the Earl took the Fort of Manyborough; and other Places in that County, and Athy and Relieve in the County of Kildare, whereby the Paffage was open'd for a further March. Having in this Manner begun the Campaigh, the Lord Lieutenant appointed a lix general Rendezvous of the whole Army of Rendez-Clogbgrenan, a House of his own upon the vous of the River, Barrow, near the Cattle of Cather, Army, lagbiowhere he made a Conjunction of all the Forces, Protestants, and Roman Catholicks, who, (by the Wildom and Temper of the Principal Officers) ningled well enough, and together, about the end of May, made a Body of 3700 Horse, and 45.00 Foot, with a Train of Artillery confifting of Four Pieces of Ordnance: But when they were now met, all the Money which could be rais'd by the Commissioners

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or which had been rais'd by the incorporate Towns, was so near spent in drawing the Soldiers out of their Quarters, and in those short Expeditions into the Queen's County, and County of Kildare, that they could not have advanced in their March, it the Lord Lieutenant had not, upon his * sir Jam. personal Credit, borrowed 800 to of 1 a Preston private Gentleman, (to whom the same Rill remains due) by means whereof he gave the common Soldiers Four Days Pay, and fo march'd about the beginning of June, from Cloghrenan, and the fame Evening ap-The Mar- pear'd before Talbor's Town, a strong Garquest takes rison of the Enemies, which, together in Tal-bot's Town with Castle Talbot, (two Miles distant from and Caftle the other) was within Three Days furren-Talbot, der'd to the Marquels, on promise of Quarand Kil. ter. From thence he march'd to Kildare, dars which Town was likewife in a shore Time furrender'd to him, where he was compell'd to fray Three or Four Days, both for want of Provision, and a Recruit of two Thousand Foot, which, by the Lord Inchequin's Care, were then upon the March; and being joyn'd, he was in Hopes, by a fuddain and speedy March, to have engag'd Jones, who at that time was march'd'a good Distance from Dublin with his Army; and fo encourag'd his Soldiers with Three

Days Pay, (which he was likewife com-

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the ets Pockets of Persons of Quality attending on him, and of the Officers of the Army) he passed the River Liffey, and Jones having Oliges gotten Littelligence of his Motion, in great Jones to Disorder rais d his Camp, and retird into raise his Dulin. Sudding and retird into Camp.

The Marquess encamp'd the whole Armyatothe Naw, Twelve Miles from Dublin, that he might maturely deliberate what was next to be undertaken or attempted, being now about the middle of June: That which appear'd worthy of Debate, Council of was, whether the Army should first make an Attempt upon Dublin, in which it was believ'd there were very many, both Officersicand Soldiers, and other Persons of Quality well affected to the King's Service, and who had formerly ferv'd under the Marquels, and efteem'd him accordingly, who might make that work more easy for whether it froud be first apply do to the taking in of Tiym, Drogheda, and other out Garrifons, from whence the City receiv'd much Provision of all Kinds, and from whence Provision to the Army would be out off, and much other Prejudice might wife Bur upon full Confideration, whe Council of War, which confilted of the General Officers, inclin'd to the Former, concluding, that if they could take Dublin, Refelve to allother Places would quickly fall into their attempt Hands; and if they should delay it, and the taking wafte of Dublin

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waste their Provision in those lesser At tempts, there might probably artie out of England fuch Supplies of Menal Money and other Necessaries to the Rebels, which were daily expected, as might render that important Work almost impossible: Here-The Lard upon the Lord Lieurenant march'd the marches to next Morning towards Dubling and that Afternoon re-paisid the whole Army again over the River Liffey, by the Bondge of Lu-Dublin. can, and encampid near that Place to reft his Men a few Hours, he marchidearly in the Morning, being the 19th of June at a Place call'd Caftle-Knocks in Views of the The Mar City wand bearing that Jones had drawn and tale out all his Horse into the Green not far bol since from the Walls, he fent a party of Horfe and Call and Musketeens to face them while he Tabor. drewthis whole Body within less than Can-AND THE non that of their Gates, hoping thereby dates . to give some Countenance to those in the Town to raife forme Commotion within; and having spent some Part of the Day in this Posture and Expectation, after some flight Skirmish between the Honse, he found it inecessary to draw off, and encamp'd that Night at a Place two Miles from the Town, call'd Finglas, whither great Multitudes of Roman Catholicks (whereof most were aged Men, Women, and Children, whom Jones had turn'd out of the City) repaired to him, whom he fent f Dublia

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fent with all due order for their Reception, to Quarters adjacent.

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The Marquels was no fooner in his Quarters, than he receiv'd true Intelligence that Jones had fent his Horse to Drogbeda, from whence they would have been able to have diffress d his Army several Ways, and to have intercepted his Provisions which came out of the Country out of the Magazines, which were at least Thirty Miles distant, and the Officers of the Army were of Opinion, upon the View they had taken that Day of the Enemy, and the Countenance they observed of their own Men, that they were not prefently provided for a formal Seige, and as ill to attack the Town upon a brisk Attempt, and therefore he resolv'd to remain encamp'd at that Place for some time, whereby he might take the Advantage of any Opportunity that those within the Town would adminifter unto him; and presently sent the Lord Inchequin, A Lieutenant General of the Army, with strong Parties to pursue the Rebels Horse, which were sent for Drogbeda, which he did to fuccelsfully, that he furpris'd one whole Troop, and afterward encounter'd Col. Coote in the head of Three Hundred Horse, whereof he flew many, and routed the rest, who chequin in a disorder'd Haste sled into Drogbeda. defeats a The Lord Inchequin presently sent Adver-Body of Jones

from Clogorenan, and the tante Lycining of The Mar- pear'd before Talbot's Town, a ftrong Gasquess takes rison of the Enemies, which, together in Tal-bot's Town with Castle Talbot, (two Miles distant from and Caftle the other) was within Three Days furrender'd to the Marquels, on promise of Quarand Kil. ter. From thence he march'd to Kildare,

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Lieutenant wards Dublin.

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The Marquels was no fooner in his Quarters, than he receiv'd true Intelligence that Foner had fent his Horse to Drogheda, from whence they would have been able to have diffres d his Army several Ways, and to have intercepted his Provisions which came out of the Country out of the Magazines, which were at least Thirty Miles distant, and the Officers of the Army were of Opinion, upon the View they had taken that Day of the Enemy, and the Countenance they observed of their own Men, that they were not presently provided for a formal Seige, and as ill to attack the Town upon a brisk Attempt, and therefore he resolv'd to remain encamp'd at that Place for some time, whereby he might take the Advantage of any Opportunity that those within the Town would administer unto him; and presently sent the Lord Inchequin, Lieutenant General of the Army, with strong Parties to pursue the Rebels Horse, which were sent for Drogheda, which he did so successfully, that he surpris'd one whole Troop, and afterward encounter'd Col. Coote in the head of Three Hundred Horse, whereof he flew many, and routed the rest, who chequin in a disorder'd Haste sled into Drogheda. defeats a The Lord Inchequin presently sent Adver-Body of Jones's tilement Horfe.

tisement of this Success, and that he had Reason to believe, that if he pursu'd this Advantage and Attempt on the Town, while the Terror potters'd the Rebets, he should make himself Master of it no? and

Wheretipon, and in respect of the great Importance of the Place the Reduction whereof would produce a fecure Contes pondence with, and give great Encouragement to the Scots in Uffer, who made great Protessions of Duty to the King and had now under the Command of the Lord Viscount Montyomery of Ardes, driven Sir Charles Coote into the City of Londonderry, and (upon the Matter) beleagur'd him there; the Lord Lieutenant, by a Decree of the Council of Wat, approv'dwthe Defign, and to that Purpole fent him two good Regiments of Foot, and two Pieces of Attillery, and fuch Ammunition and Materials as could be spar'd, wherewith he proceeded to vigoroufly, that within Seven Days he compell'd the Rebels to yield to Takes Dro. Quarters and reduced the Town to the the Rebels Horfe, white seeds and

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There was now very reasonable Grounds for hope that the English Rebels would quickly find themselves in notable Streights and Diffresses, but it was ion a studden difcern'd how very active and dexterous the Spirit of Rebellion is to reconcile and unite those who were possess'd by it, (now contilement Refer trary

trary foever the Principles and Ends feem to be) and to contribute joyntly to the oppoling and oppressing that lawful Power, which they had both equally injur'd and provoked entro no released and

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The Parliament Party who had heap'd fo many Reproaches and Calumnies upon the King for his Clemency to the Irish, who had grounded their own Authority and Strength upon such Foundations as were inconfident with any Tolleration of the Roman Catholick Religions and even with any Humanity to the Irish Nation, and more especially to those of the old native Extrastions who whole Race whereof they had, upon the Matter fworn to extirpate; and Owen O Neal himself being of the most ancient Sept and his whole Army contisting only offuch who avow'd no other Cause for their finity Entrance into Rebellion, but Matter of Religion, and That the Power of the Parliament was like to be so prevalent and great, that the King himself would not be able to extend his Mercy and Favours towards them, which they seem'd to be confident be was in his gracious Disposition inclin'd to express, and therefore profess'd to take up Arms against the exorbitant Power only of them, and to retain Hearts full of Devotion and Duty to his Majesty; and he himself, at present, by underhand and secret Treaties with the Lord Lieutenant, seem'd more irrecon-

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irreconcileable to the Proceedings of the General Assembly, and to the Persons of those who govern'd there, than to make any Scruple of submitting to the King's Authority, in the Person of the Marquels, to which and to whom he protested all Duty and Reverence: These two so contrary and disagreeing Elements had, I say, by the fubtle and volatile Spirits of Hypocrify and Rebellion, found a Way to incorporate together, and Owen O Neal had promis'd and contracted with the other, that he would compel the Lord Lieutenant to retire and draw off his Army from about Dublin, by invading with his Army those Parts of Leinster and Munster which yielded most, and indeed all, the Provision and Subfiftance to the Marquels, and which he prefum'd the Marquess would not suffer to be spoil'd and desolated by his Incurfions: For the better doing whereof, and enabling him for this Expedition, Colonel Monke; Governour of Dundalk (and who was the Second Person in Command among the English Rebels) had promis'd to deliver him, out of the Stores of that Garrifon, a good Quantity of Powder, Bullet, and Match proportionable; for the fetching whereof, Owen O Neal had fent Farrell, Lieutenant General of his Army, with a Party of Five Hundred Foot, and Three Hundred Horse, at the time that Drogheda was

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was taken by the Lord Inchequin, who being there advertis'd of that new contracted Friendship, resolv'd to give some Interruption to it, and made so good haste, that within few Hours after Farrell had receiv'd the Ammunicion at Dundalk, he fell upon him, and routed all his Horse, so that of Inchethe 500 there were not Forty that escap'd, quin debut were either Dain or taken Prisoners, by of O and got all the Ammunition, and with it, Neal's so good an Account of the present State of Army. Dundalk, that he immediately encamp'd before it, and in two Days compell'd Monke (who elfe had been deliver'd up by his own Soldiers) to furrender the Place, Takes where was a good Magazine of Ammunition, Cloath, and other Necessaries for War, most of the Officers and Soldiers with all Alacrity engaging themselves in his Majefly's Service.

Upon this Success, the less Garrisons of And re-Newry, Narrow-Water, Green, Castle, and duces other Newry, Narrow-Water, Green, Castle, and the Carling ford, were easily subjected, and the Lord Inchequin, in his Return, being appointed to visit Trym, the only Garrison left to the Rebels in those Parts, except Dublin, in two Days after he had besieg'd it, made himself Master of it, and so return'd with his Party (not impair'd by the

Service) to the Lord Lieutenant, in his Camp at Finglass.

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Owen

Owen O Neal fill continued his Affection to the English Rebels, and when he found that his Design of drawing the King's Army from Dublin could not succeed, he hasted into Ulster, and upon the Payment of Two Thousand Pounds in Money some Ammunition, and about Two Thousand Cows, he rais'd the Seige of Londonderry, the only confiderable Place in that Province that held for the English Rebels, and which was even then reduc'd to Extremity by the Lord Viscount Mountgomery of Araes, and must in few Days have submitted to the King's Authority, if it had not been in that Manner reliev'd by the unfortunate Irish.

All the Places of Moment, near Dublin, being thus reduc'd, and the Lord Inchequin having put Garrisons competent into them, and yet return'd into the Camp with a stronger Party than he march'd out with. On the 24th Day of July, the Marquels

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Lord Lieu-took a View of his whole Army, and found tenant re- it to confift of no less than Seven Thoufand Foot, and about Four Thousand Horse, which, tho' a good Force, was not equal to the Work of forming a regular Siege of fo large and populous a City as Dublin, and as unfit to form it; therefore it was refoly'd still to continue the former Design of fireightening it, buntil the Necessities within abated the Obstinacy of that People; for the better doing whereof, the Lord Owen

Lord Viscount Dillon, of Costello, was appointed to remain fill on the North Side of the Town, with a Body of Two Thoufand Foot, and Five Hundred Horse, to block it up, having two or three small Places of Strength to retire unto upon Occasion; and the Lord Lieutenant, the next Day, march'd with the Remainder of the Army over the Leffey, to the South Side, to a Place call'd Rathmines, where he refoly'd to encamp, and from whence, Encamps by Reason of the Narrowness of the Ri-mines. ver, he might discourage an Attempt of sending Relief into the Town by Sea from England, and, in truth, if he had come time enough to have rais'd a Work upon the Point, some Interruption might have been given to that Enterprize; but it pleas'd God that very same Day (the 25th of July) the Marquels march'd thither, and in Sight of his Army, as it march'd, a strong Gale of Wind from the East, brought into Dublin Col. Reynold, and Col, Venables, with supplies to a good Supply of Horse and Foot, Money, the Rebels and all other Necessaries whereof the Gar-Dublin. rifon Rood in Need, which marveloufly exalted the Spirits of all those which were devoted to the Obedience of the Rebels, and depress'd the Minds of them who watch'd all Opportunities of doing Service to the King; however, the Marquess purlu'd his Resolution, and encamp'd that Night

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he rd Night at Rathmines, and the next Day made himself strong there, till upon Information (he was sure to receive of the Enemies State and Condition) he might better conclude what was next to be done.

There were many honest Men within the City, who still found Ways to send the Marqueis Advertisement of what was neceffary for him to know, and some Ships that brought Supplies from and for the Rebels, brought likewise Intelligence from those that wish'd well to the King's Service, under the Lord Lieutenant, and 0ther Persons of Honour that were with him, and from feveral Persons of known Integrity, and who were like enough to know what was transacted in the Council of the Rebels, it was inform'd that this Supply which was already landed at Dublin, was all that was intended for that Place, and believ'd to be fufficient to defend it against any Army they could bring to attack it, and that Cromwell, who was enough known to be ready in England to embark with a great Army, meant to land in Munster, a Country lately fallen from their Devotion, and where there were still too many inclin'd to him, and thereby to compel the Lord Lieutenant to rise from Dublin; and it is very true, that at that time Cromwell was refolv'd to have proceeded in that

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that Manner. Upon this joynt Intelligence, for it came from some Persons to the Lord Lieutenant, and from others to the Lord Inchequin, it was upon Consultation with the general Officers, concluded absolutely necessary that the Lord Inchequin, being President of Munster, should immediately, with a strong Party of Horse, repair into Inchethat Province, whereby (at least) the Gar-quin fint risons might be supported against any sud-into Munden Attempt of the Enemy, if they should ster. land there; and that the Army being thus weaken'd by the Quality, as well as the Number of this Party, (who were the best Horse of the Body) the Lord Lieutenant should retire to Drumnah, being a Quarter of greater Strength than that of Rathmines was or could be made, and at fuch Distance as might as well block up the Enemy as the other, and from thence an uninterrupted Communication might be had with that Party which was left on the North Side of the River; and upon this Conclusion the Lord Inchequin departed towards Munster.

When it was known that the Army was to retire, the Officers and Soldiers express'd much Trouble, and seem'd to believe the reducing of the Town not to be a Matter of that Difficulty as was pretended, if they could hinder the Rebels Horse from grazing in the Meadows near the Walls, which was the only Place they were posses'd of

to that Purpose, they could not be able to fublist Five Days, and it would be in their Power to take that Benefit from them, if they posses'd themselves of the Castle of Baggatrath, very near adjoyning to that Pasture, which was already so strong, that in one Night it might be sufficiently fortify'd: And this Discourse (which was not indeed unreasonable) got so much Credit, that the Council of War intreated the Marquess to decline his former Resolution of retiring to Drumnah; General Preston, Sir Arthur Afton, and Major General Purcell, having view'd the Place, affuring the Lord Lieutenant that it might be possess'd, and fufficiently fortify'd in one Night.

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It is no Wonder that in an Army thus constituted and compos'd, the Marquels thought not fit by his Authority to restrain them from pursuing an Enterprize of so much Gallantry, and which had fo much Possibility of Success, and indeed he still retain'd some Hopes of Advantage by the Affection of the City; and that even in those last Supplies that were lent over, there were many who laid hold of that Opportunity to transport themselves for the Advancement of the King's Service, and with Purpose quickly to change their Mafters; so that he was contented to recede from his former Resolution, and on the First of August, at Mid-night, sent a strong Party eir

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Party to possess themselves of Baggatrath, and with fuch Materials as were necessary Attempt to to fortify it, and because he concluded fortify that the Enemy would immediately dif-Baggacover what they were doing, and would trath. use their utmost Endeavours to prevent the Execution of a Design which would bring such irreparable Damage to them, he gave strict Order for drawing thu whole Army into Battalia, and commanded that they should stand in Arms all that Night, himself continuing in the Field on Horseback till Morning; as foon as it was Day he went to visit the Place that was to be fortify'd, which he found not in that Condition he expected; the Officer excus'd himself by having been misguided in the Night, so that it was very late before he arriv'd there, wherewith the Marquess being unfatisfy'd, displac'd the Officer who commanded the Party, and put another of good Name and Reputation into the Charge, and appointed him to make his Men work hard, fince it appear'd, that in four or five Hours it might be so well fortify'd, that they need fear no Attempt from the Town; and that they might be fure to enjoy so much time, he commanded the Army to remain in the same Posture they had been all Night; and about Nine of the Clock, feeing no Appearance of any Sally from the Town, he went to his Tent Vistar b

Tent to refresh himself with a little rest. which he had not obtain'd for the space of an Hour, when he was awaken'd by an Allarm from the Enemy, and putting himfelf immediately upon his Horse, quickly found that his Officers had not been for punctual in their Duty as they ought to have been, but had quited their Posts as foon as the Marquels was gone to repole himself, (out of an unhappy Confidence that the Rebels would not adventure at that time of the Day to make any Sally) fo that a strong Party out of the Town, at Ten of the Clock in the Morning, march'd directly to Baggatrath, and with less Opposition than ought to have been made, beat, routed, and dil-The Fatal pers'd the Party that posses'd it; who finding their Horse not so ready to affish them as they expected, quitted the Place with all imaginable Confusion, which encouraged the Rebels (who were feconded immediately by the whole Power in Dublin to advance further towards the Army, (which they discern'd to be in high Disorder) than at their coming out they intended,

Battle of Rathmines.

> The Lord Lieutenant us'd all Means to put the Horse in Order, sending the Lord Taaffe to command the Foot; But Sir William Vaughan, Commissioner General of the Horse, being in the first Charge kill'd, they who follow'd him were imme-

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diately routed, whereupon fo great a Consternation seiz'd upon the Spirits of all the rest, that the Marquess could prevail with none to stand with him, but the Regiment of his Brother, Col. Butler, and Col. Grady, with which he charg'd the Enemy, wherein Col. Grady being flain, and his Brother fore wounded and taken Prisoner, that Body was entirely broken, and from that time it was not in his Power, by all the Means he could use, to rally any Party of Horse, or to make them so much as to stand by him; so that when he was even inviron'd with the Enemy, and attended with very few of his own Servants, and two or three Gentlemen, he was forc'd to make his Way through them, and to quit the Field. When that small Body of Foot which still kept the Ground, and valiantly defended themselves, finding that they were deferted by their Horse, were compell'd to furrender their Arms to the Rebels; the Lord Taaffe making his own Way fo prosperously, that he got to the North Side, where he found that Body that he left there, in Arms, and us'd all poffible Endeavours to perswade them to attempt a Recovery of what was loft, which in fo great Diforder of the Enemy (as fuch Success usually produces) had not been reasonably to be dispair'd of; but the Apprehensions and Jealousies, the Fright and

Terror, was for universal, that he could not incline them to it, not do more then, (and that in Confusion enough) than to provide for their own Security.

- This was the unhappy and (indeed) fatal Defeat of Rathmines, which was the First and only Loss that ever fell upon any Army or Party of which the Marquels had the Name and Title (and God knows had here no more than the Name) of the fupreme Commander, and these the whole Gircumstances of it; so that what Fault, Defect, or Overlight of his contributed thereunto, or what he could have done more to have prevented it, Malice it felf cannot fuggelt; and for the Matter of it lelf, tho it must be and is Wconfes'd, that many Officers and Soldiers of the Army did not that Day dilcharge their Trul with Diligence, nor the Foot with any tollerable Courage, and were on a fudden more confounded with Fear and Amazement, than was to be expected from the Cause they were to defend, and from their own Behaviour in former Actions; -vet the Success on the Rebels Side, was in no Degree swonderfuls the Advantage in Number being theirs, they who fally drout rof the Town, and were upon the Field, being effectively 6000 Foot and 1900 Horle, and the Army incamp'd at Rathmines were not fo strong in Horse or Foot, and therefore Lerror

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fore it is nothing frange, that so well govern'd and disciplin'd Soldiers, under good Officers, should overcome a lesser Number of raw, new ley'd, and unpractis'd Men, under unexperien'd Officers, though poffels'd of some Advantage of Ground; nor can the unfitness or unskilfulness in the Officers be imputed to want of Care in the Marquels, fince they were not only fuch upon whose Interest Men were rais'd and brought together, and fo confequently had a kind of Dependency upon them; but fuch as liwere recommended particularly to him by the Generali Assembly, and how unfatisfy'd they were with all their Officers, but those who were recommended by themselves a and how widently they protested against them, of how great Reputation foever they were for Courage, Conduct, and constant and funblemish'd Integrity to the King's Service, the enfuing Discourse will sufficiently set forth and decek's time, after his coming to Killenals

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When the Marquels found the Consternation to be so great in his Soldiers who fled away, that Ino considerable Number could be got together to make any Stand, tho' at some Miles Distance from the Action, and the other Part of the Army in Finglass Side, who had feen no Enemy, could not be contain'd from dispersing, he sent them Orders to march to Trym and Drogheda for the

the strengthning of those Garrisons, which he believ'd Jones might, upon the Pride of his late Success, be inclin'd to attack; and himself went to Kilkenny, as the fittelf After this Rendezvous to which he might rally his Defeat the broken and scatter'd Forces, and from Lord Lieutenant re. whence he might best give Orders and Directions for the making of new Levies; tires to Kilkenny and in his March thither, the next Day after the Defeat at Rathmines, he made an Hault with those few Horse he had rally'd together, and fummon'd the strong Fort of Ballysonan, which he had before Takes in Ballyloblock'd up by a Parcy of Horfe and nan in his Foot, and having found Means to prefwade the Governour to believe that Dublin had been furrender'd, and that his Army was returning, he got that important Place into his Hands, without which Stratagem, Jones which prewould have purfu'd his Conquest, even to Jones's Kilkenny, which he had found in a very ill Purfuit. Condition to defend it felf, and in a whole Week's time, after his coming to Kilkenny, he could draw together but Two Hundred Horfe, with which he thought it necessary, within Eight Days after the Defeat, to march in Person to the Relief of

Drogheda, which, according to his Expeda-

tion, was beseig'd by Jones, and defend-

ed by the Lord Moore; upon the Approach

Obliges Jones to raife the Siege of Droghe-

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Of the Affairs of Ireland 129

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His Lordship entring Drogheda, whither he relolv'd to draw his Army as foon as might be, iffu'd out his Orders according, hoping, in short time, if no other Misfortune interrupted, to get a good Body of Men together, and to restrain those in Dublin from making any great Advantage of their late Victory: But he had been there very few Days, when he received a very fure Advertise-Lord Lieument; that Cromwell was himself landed, ceives Ada with a great Army of Horse and Foot, and vice of with valt Supplies of all Kinds, at Dublin, Cromwhere he arriv'd within less than a Fort-landing at night after the unhappy Defeat at Rathmines. Dublin. The Scene was now alter'd, and the War the Lord Lieutenant was to make, could be only defensive, until the Rebels should meet with a Check in some Enterprize, and his own Men, by Discipline and Rest; might again recover their Spirits, and forget the Fear they had contracted of the Enemy; he took Care therefore to repair the Works and Fortifications at Dro-provided gheda, (as well as in fo fhort a time for the Decould be done) and to get as much Pro-proghevision into the Town as was possible, da. and then with a full Approbation of all the Commissioners, he made choice of Sir Arthur Aston, a Catholick, and a Soldier

dier of great Experience and Reputation, to be Governour thereof, and put a Garrison into it of Two Thousand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horse, all choice Men and good Soldiers, with very many Gentlemen and Officers of good Name and Account, and supply'd with Ammunition and all other Provisions, as well as the Governour himself desird : And having done to much, he march'd with his Horse and small Remainder of his Foot, to Tryin, whence he lent to the Lard Inchequin to bring up, as many Men as he could out of Munster, (now the Apprehention of Gromwell's landing there was over) and endeavour'd from all Parts to recruit his Army, hoping, before the Rebels should be able to reduce any of his Garrisons, he might be enabled to take the Field.

It was about the beginning of September when Crontwell marchid out of Dublin, and with his whole Army came before Drogheda, of which the Lord Lieutenant was no looper advertized, than he came to Trym to watch all Opportunities to infelt his Quarters; and having all Confidence in the Town and in the Experience of Sir Arthur Aston, the Goodness and Number of the Garrison, that the Rebels could not be able to get the Town by any Assault But here again he found himself disappointed;

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pointed; the Enemy refolv'd not to lofe their time in the Siege, and therefore as foon as their Summons was rejected, they made a Breach with their Cannon, and form'd the Place; and though they were for fome time fourly relifted, and twice beaten off, in the End they enter'd, and Crompurfu'd their Victory with fo much Cruel-well takes ty, that they put the whole Garrison to Droghethe Sword, not sparing those, upon second sault, and Thoughts, to whom in the Heat of the puts the Action they promised and gave Quarter; to the to that except fome fewly who, during the sword. time of the Atlault, escap'd at the other Side of the Town, and others, who mingling with the Rebels as their own Men, disguis'd themselves as they were not discover'd, there was not an Officer, Soldier, or religious Person belonging to that Garrison, left alive, and all this within the Space of Nine Days after the Enemy appear'd before the Walls; when very many were even glad that they were engag'd before a Place that was like to be fo well defended, and to stop their further Progress for that Season of the Year.

This, indeed was a much greater Blow than that of Rathmines, and totally destroy'd and massacred a Body of Two Thousand Men, with which, in respect of the Experience and Courage of the Officers, and the Goodness and Fidelity of the common

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Men,

Men, the Marquel's would have been glad to have found himself engag'd in the Field with the Enemy, though upon some Difmade al Breach with their Caspanavba

He had not now left with him above 700 Horse, and 1500 Foot, whereof some were of fulpected Faith, and many new rais'd Men; and though the Lord Inchequin was ready to march towards him, with a good Party of Horse and Foot, and the Lord Viscount Ardes with the like Number of Scots, yet he had neither Money to give them one Days Pay, or Provision to keep them together Twenty Four Hours; the Commissioners were either dispers'd, or the Orders for collecting Money not exacted or regarded And when (in these Streights) the Lord Lieutenant iffued out Warrants for the rulling Men and Money, they complain'd of his Breach of the Articles of the Treaty, and talk'd among themselves of treating with the Enemies; that which was most adviseable, and which all Men faw was fitteft to be practis'd, was, to put all their Men into Garrisons, and thereby secure their most confiderable Places, and therewithal (Winter now approaching) to profecute the Levies, and by good Discipline and Exercise of the Men, to recover their Spirits against the Spring. But (alas!) this was not at all in the Marques's Power to do,

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he was reftrain'd by the Articles of the Treaty from making any new Garrisons, and from changing any old Governours without the Approbation of the Commisfioners, and he and the Commissioners together had not Credit and Power enough with the chief Cities and incorporate Towns, which were most worth keeping, and confequently most like to be attempted by the Rebels, to force or perswade them to receive Garrisons; so Wexford, Waterford, and Lymerick, the most considerable Ports of the Kingdom, declar'd they would admit of no Soldiers, nor (indeed) did they further obey any other Orders which were fent to them, than they thought fit themselves.

If this fatal Distemper and Discompofure had not been discover'd to be among them, it is not to be believ'd that Gromwell (whatfoever Success he had met with) would have engag'd his Army, which, with being long at Sea, change of Air, and hard Duty, was much weaken'd, and had contracted great Sickness in the Seige, after the beginning of October; yet being encourag'd and drawn out (in truth) by the Knowledge of this Humour and Obstinacy of the Irish against all Remedy which could preferve them, he march'd his Army Crombefore Wexford, the Inhabitants whereof well beappear'd willing to make Defence, albeit Wexford, 1K 3

they had too long neglected the Means thereof, and were at last (when Part of the Rebels Army were lodg'd within half Musket that of their Walls) contented to receive an Affiftance of Men from the Lord Lieutenant, which, upon the first Intimation, his Excellency haften'd to them of the Choicest he had left, all Catholicks, (for that was still insisted upon) under the Command of his Cousin Sir Edmond Butler, a Man confiderably worthy of a greater Charge, who with some Difficulty past the River, into that Part of the Town which the Rebels could not infest; but he had not been two Hours in Town, when Captain Stafford (who was Governour of the Castle, The Place and whom the Lord Lieutenant would betray'd by have remov'd from that Charge, as not

file.

the Irish being equal to it, but plac'd there beof the Ca-cause he was a Catholick, and had exercis'd that Charge during the time that the Confederates were in Arms against the King) gave up the Place to Cromwell, and took Conditions under him, and there-

by gave Entrance to him into the Town, The Garri- where all the Soldiers were cruelly put to son basely the Sword, and Sir Edmond Butler him-

murder'd. felf, endeavouring (when he discover'd the Treachery) to escape, was kill'd before he had been two Hours in the Town.

From this Torrent of Success and Cormotes ruption, no body will wonder that the

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Rebels march'd then without Controul, and took Roffe and some other Places without any Oppolition; yet the Marquels out of a deep Sense of the Stupidity, Waywardness, and Ingratitude of that People, for whole Protection and Defence he had embark'd himself, his Fortune, and his Honour, and whose Jealoufies and fond Obstinacy, made the Work of their Prefervation more difficult and impossible than the Powers of the Enemy could do, defir'd nothing so much as an Opportunity to fight the Rebels, and either to give some Check to their swoln Fortune, or to perish in the Action; and to that Purpose drew all his Friends to him, and lent for all the Forces he could draw together from the Province of Munster and Ulfter.

From the time the Peace was concluded at Kilkenny, the Lord Lieutenant well difcern'd the Mischief he should sustain, by being to provide against the Attempts of Owen O Neal, as well as against the Englife Rebels, and that, at least, he could hope for no Affiltance from the Scots in Uffer, as long as they fear'd him, and therefore he had fent Daniel O Neal, Nophew to the General, to perswade him to be concluded in the same Peace: But he was so unsatisfy'd with the Assembly that he declar'd he would have nothing to do K 4 with tho W

with them, or be comprehended in any Agreement they should make: But if the Marquess would consent to some Conditions he propos'd, he would willingly fubmit to the King's Authority in him. The Marquess was content to grant his own Conditions, having indeed a great Effeem of his Conduct, and knowing the Army under his Command to be better disciplin'd than any other of the Iriflo. But the Commissioners of Trust would by no means confent to these Conditions, and declar'd, if the Lord Lieutenant proceeded thereupon to an Agreement, it would be a direct Breach of the Articles of Peace; and thereupon Owen O Neal made that Conjunction with Monke, which was before remember'd; and about the very time of the Defeat at Rathmines, reliev'd Sir Charles Coote in Londonderry, and therefore kept the King from being entirely poffels'd of the Province of Ulfter, which, but for that Action, would have been able to have fent strong Supplies of Men and Provision to the Assistance of the Marquess; and it is enough known, that when the Lord Lieutenant was in a hopeful Way to prevail against the Rebels, the Commissioners of Trust, and the principal Persons of Interest had no Mind to agree with Owen O Neal, out of an Animofity to his Person and Party, and in Confidence that the with Work

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Work would be done without him, and others of his Party had as little Mind that he should be drawn to a Conjunction with the Marquels, because they knew if they were once engag'd under him, they should no more be able to feduce O Neal to joyn with them in any Action of Sedition; and upon these Reasons, the Persons who were deputed by the Commissioners to treat with him, and were known to have an Interest in him, on the one Side perswaded Owen O Neal that the Lord Lieutenant had broken the Articles of Peace, and he could have no Security that what should be promis'd should be perform'd to him, and on the other Side inform'd the Marquels, That he infifted on fuch extravagant Pro-The Lord positions, that the Commissioners of Trust Lieutewould never yield to them: But after the with O Arrival of Cromwell, and his Success against Neal. Drogheda, the Commissioners of Trust thought it high time to unite with him, and Owen O Neal discern'd himself how unsafe he should be by the prevailing of the English Rebels, who notwithstanding the signal Service done by him for them, had publickly disown'd the Agreement which their own Officers had made with him, and thereupon, by the Interpolition of Daniel O Neal, all Particulars were agreed between the Lord Lieutenant and him, with the Conlent of the Commissioners of Trust, about

in Mun-

the time that Cromzvell was before Wenford, infomuch that he promis'd in few Days to bring his Army and joyn with the Lord Lieutenant, which (though himself liv'd not to execute) was perform'd shortly after; so that about the time that Wexford was taken, he was not without Hope, by the Advantage of a Pass, and cutting off his Provisions, to have made Cromwell return to Dublin, very hardly without losing a good Part of his Army; when on a fudden all the confiderable Places in The Town Munster revolted to the Rebels, and thereby gave them a safe Retreat, and free Palto the En. lage, and necessary Provision of all they glish Re- wanted, and Harbour for Ships to bring all to them that they could defire. The Lord Inchequin being so totally betray'd by those Officers whom he trusted most, and had most oblig'd, that after he had in vain try'd to reduce them by Force, he could not without much Difficulty obtain the Liberty and Re-delivery of his Wife and Children to him. This Action in this fatal Juncture of time, when the Streights Cromwell was in by the Winter and want of Provisions had rais'd the Spirits of all Men, and when they look'd upon themselves as like to have at least, some hopeful Encounter with him, was not a Loss or Blow, but a Dissolution of the whole Frame of their Hopes and Designs, and introduc'd a Spirit of Jealousy and

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From the first Hour of the Peace, the English and Irish had not been without that Prejudice to each other, as gave the Marquels much Trouble, and they were rather incorporated by their Obedience and Submission to the Authority and Pleasure of their supreme Commander, than united by the same Inclination and Affection to any publick End; infomuch, that before the Defeat at Rathmines, there were many of the Irish who much fear'd the swift Success of the Army, and apprehended the Lord Lieutenant's speedy reducing of Dublin, would give him fuch Power, as would make him more absolute than they desir'd to see him, and therefore were not forry for the Mischief: On the other Side, the English were troubled to see the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Marquess so restrain'd and limited by the Articles, and that the Army was never recruited, disciplin'd, nor provided as it ought to be, folely by his Want of Power, and they had a very low Opinion of the Spirit and Courage of the Irish: But now upon this Defection in Munster, there was a Determination of all Confidence and Trust in each other: The Irib declar'd they fufpected all the English Nation, and made the

the Treachery of those who fo infamously had betray'd their Trust, an unreas nable Argument, for a Jealoufy of those which remain'd in the Army, who being a handful of gallant Men, and of most unshaken Fidelity to the King, were, indeed, in respect of their Courage and Experience in War, the Party to be principally depended upon in any Action or Encounter, and of which only the Enemy had had any Ap-

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prehension.

Though the Season of the Year, (for it was now towards the end of November) and the Sickness that was in the Rebels Army, made it high time to betake themselves to their Winter Quarters, and such was their Resolution, yet Cromwell being well inform'd of the present Distemper amongst them who had the whole Strength the Lord Lieutenant was to trust to, and knowing that the Clergy had the full Dominion of all the incorporate Towns and Places of Importance, and would keep the People from fubmitting to those Expedients, which only would preserve them, he resolv'd to make an Attempt, and so march'd with his Army, confifting of about 2000 Horfe, and 5000 Foot, towards Wexford; this was when he encamp'd near Wexford. Thomastown, within the Distance of two or three Miles of the Marquess, and with which they have fince reproach'd him in fome

Cromwell marches towards

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some printed Discourses, as an Opportunity voluntarily omitted and declin'd, when he might have fought the Rebels upon an Advantage of Ground, and an Equality of Numbers; whereas the Truth is known to be that (notwithstanding the Jealousy and Discomposure of the Humours in his Army, being upon the time of the Defection) and Inequality in Number and Quality of the Men (for the Rebels had dou- why the ble the Number of Horfe, and were supe-Marquest rior in Foot) the Marquels had a Resolution tion to give Battle to them, conceiving Cromthat these Disadvantages and extreme Ha-my. zards were reasonably to be preferr'd to those he foresaw he should be forc'd to undergo without Fighting: But the very Morning before they drew out in Battalia near Thomastown, upon the Information of feveral Persons who pretended they had feen the Enemy march towards Kilkenny, which was within the same Distance of the Place where they were encamp'd, as near to that where he was; and the Garrison being drawn out thence; to strengthen the Army for the Encounter then expected; the Marquess march'd with all the Horse with as much Speed as might be, to put himself between the Town and the Rebels. and fo was absent when they discover'd them to be drawn up on a Hill, and if he had been there, there was a River between them,

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them, which (if he would have fought) he must have pass'd by a Bridge, where more than three could not have march'd abreas up an Hill; upon the freep Rifing whereof. the Rebels had planted themselves in Order of Battel; fo that if all other Confiderations had been away, he could not ever have thought it reasonable to have engaged his Army upon to manifest Disadvantage

serford.

From hence Gromwell march'd to Waterwell mar ford, knowing well enough the Marquels ches to be could not keep the small Body he had tofiege Wa gether two Days, which was very true; for having not Money enough to give them half a Week's Pay, nor Provision to serve but four and twenty Hours, he was compell'd to fuffer them to go to their Quarters:

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Lord bis Army, but provides for the Defence of Waterford.

However he was refoled not to leave Waterford to the Enemy, tho' they had fo obnant forc'd ftimately and disobediently refus'd to reto disband ceive a Garrison, which would have prevented their prefent Preffure; whereas they were now closely befieged to their Walls on all that Side of the Town which lay to Munfter, the other being open and to be reliev'd by the River Share, which there fevers Leinster from Munster, and washes the Walls of the Town on that Side. The Inhabitants beeing Destruction at their Doors, abared to much of their former Madness, as to be willing to receive a Supply of Soldiers, yet under a Condition, that they

Of the Affairs of Ireland. 1421

they might be all of the old Irish of Ulfter, who under the Command of Owen O Neal had oppos'd the King's Authority (and were now newly join'd with the Marquels) and in express Terms refus'd any of their Neighbours and Kindred, the Confederate wife Catholicks of Munster and Leinster, to the great Offence and Scandal of that Party of the Nation, which had been as zealous for their Religion as any. However, fince there was no other Way to suppress them, the Lord Lieutenant was content to comply even with their Humour, and to choosing a strong Party of near 1500 Men, and putting them under the Command of Lieutenant General Farrell, who was the most acceptable to them, his Excellency, bimfelf march'd with them, and put them into the Town, which he had no looner done, than Cromwell found it con-Cromvenient to raise his Siege; and thortly af-well obliter betook himself to his Winter-Quar-ged tornife icks being ready to deliver it up to enst

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It was the Month of December, and a Seafon, with Frost and Snow, as uneasy as that Time of the Year in that cold Country hath at any Time produced; yet the Marquels having left the Town, as he thought full of the Sense of the late Benefit and Prefervation which they had receiv'd from him, and defining to employ himself in fortifying Waterford, and providing it

better to relift the Enemy, before they should be able to make another Attempt upon it, and likewife in reducing Roffe and Waterford, and all other Places which the Rebels had taken and left but weakly mann'd and provided, he drew his Forces together, and leaving them on the other Side of the Shure, himself with a Train only of 40 or 50 Horse, consisting of his Friends and Setvants, went into the Town, prefuming that he should be able to perswade them to submit to join in whatsoever should manifeftly appear for their own Benefit and Advantage: When he came into the Town, he found Lieutenant General Famell engag'd in a Defign to take Passage, a Place feiz'd on by Cromwell, when he retir'd from Waterford, and which was an inconvenient Neighbour to that City; Colonel Wogan, who had been feafonably fent by the Marquels into Duncannon (the first Governour placed there by the Confederate Catholicks being ready to deliver it up to the Rebels) and who had with notable Courage defended it against Cromwell, wand in

the End, after the Loss of a great many of

his Men, compell'd him to retire; had

agreed to meet Lieutenant General Farrell at a Place and House appointed and

together to fall upon Paffage, though the Marquels had not been informed of the

Form and Contrivance of the Defign, yet

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he knew well enough what Interpretation would be made if his Interpolition or Command, or Waryness should declare against it; he was therefore very willing it should proceed; the Matter was well laid and carry'd with Secrecy, being hopeful enough but Lieutenant General Farrell had not been march'd from the Town many Hours, when the Marquels discover'd from some Place of Prospect in the Town, a strong Party of Horse marching in good Order, the way that led to Passage, which belonging to the Rebels, made him conclude that they had Notice of the Delign; whereupon he presently sent for the Mayor of the Town, and shewing the inevitable Danger their whole Party was in which was the only Strength against any Enterprize of the Enemy, (if they were not infantly reliev'd) requir'd him presently to fend some Body over to the other Side of the River, for the transporting a Regiment or two of his Horse, with which he would endeavour himself to rescue them.

How apparent soever the Danger and Mischief was, and how visible and natural soever the Remedy, all the Commands and Entreaties he could use, could not prevail to get one Body, or their Consent that any of his Horse should be suffer'd to march through the Town, without which they could not go to their Relief. When he

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had in vain try'd all the Ways to convince

The Marquess relieves Farrell, and ftops Party.

and perswade them, he caus'd all his Friends and Servanes (which, as was faid before amounted not to above Porty of Fifty) to month their Horles, and withall imagina ble hafte led them himfelf towards Pullage. that he might at least discover, though he was not like to prevent the Lofs that was tike to enfue. When he came within Sight of the Town, he could differn a Party of Foot marching with great Halte and Dil order towards him, being purfu'd by the the Pursuit Rebols Horse, who had even overtaken of the Revery small and either kill'd them upon the Place, or taken them Prisoners; the the Company that attended the Marquels was too few to encounter the Rebels with any confiderable Hope, yet he drew up in that Manner of the Side of a Hill, that the Enemy magining their Numbers to be more confiderable, thought fit to leffen their Pace, and to fend small Parties to discover, which being again entertain'd with the like Number in flight Skirmifhes, the Foot as much improving their March, they were in the end by the Marquels's frequent exposing his own Person to retard the Rebels Pursuit, preferv'd, and thus he brought back with him into the Town about half these which had march'd thence, and which had been infallibly destroy'd if he had not taken that defperate

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perate Course to redeem them, land he might as furely have recover'd all the others which were made Prisoners, and Idefeated all that Body of the Rebels, and confequently taken Paffage, if the Citizens would unfeafona. have permitted his Horfe to have been ble Obstitransported over the River, and to have nacy of the march'd through the Place. Is ad him

The Marquess was by this last Experi-ford. ment, fufficiently convinc'd how impossible it would be to perfwade the Town (which was entirely govern'd by the Clergy) to The Lord fuffer any Part of his Army to enter into Lioureit, which in many Respects, and especially figns obfor finishing their Works and Fortifications, structed by had been necessary on the other Side; ence of the without the Countenance of the Town, Popish and bringing his Army over the River, it Clergy. was as impossible to profecute his Defign for the Reduction of Passage, and those Places mention d before. He defind therefore no more of them, than that they would be content that his Army might for a little time be hutted under their Walls, where they should receive their Provision and Pay duly out of the Country, and to thould be a Security and Benefit to the Town, without the least Damage in any Degree: But this Propolition found no more Regard than the Former, and inflead of confulting the first Circumstances to comply

with so just and necessary a Demand of the

King's

King's Lieutenant, it was propos'd in the Council of the Town, to feize on his Perfon, and to fall on all that belong deto him as an Enemy; which Advice mer with no other Reprehension, than that for the prefent the major Part did not confent to it. Of all which, when the Marquels was fully winform'd, he thought it time to depart from thence, and leave them to their own Imaginations, and fo march'd away with his Army, which after this Indignity it was a thing impossible to keep together, all the His Army Troops removing to those Quarters where there were shewn some Means for their Subsistance; himself went to his Castle at Kilkenny, from whence he dispatch'd an Account to the King, (who was then in the Island of Fare) of the true State of his Affairs in that Kingdom, by which his Majesty might see how much his Rebels who disclaim'd any Subjection to him, prevail'd against his Authority, and how it was equally contemn'd, and deluded, and difregarded by his Sub-

jects, who made all the Profession of Obedience and Duty to him, which was a Method those ill times had made his Majesty too well acquainted with, and from this time (which was in the Month of December, 1649) the Marquels never did, or could draw together into one Body, a Number of 500; what Endeavours he us'd to do it,

we will mention in order hereafter.

Separates.

As foon as the Lord Lieutenant came Lord Lieuto Kilkenny, he confulted with rhe Com-postulates missioners of Trust (without whole Appro-with the bation and Consent he could do no Act that Commission was of Importance) what Remedies to ap-Truft. ply to the Diforder and Confusion which pread it felf over all their Affairs: They had still been Witnesses of all his Actions, of his unwearied Pains and Industry, and of the little Fruit that was reap'd by it; How his Orders and Commands, and their own, had been neglected and disobey'd in those Particulars, without which an Army could not be brought or kept together; How those Places which the Rebels had posses'd themselves of, had been, for the most Part, lost by their own obstinate Refulal to receive fuch Affistance from him, as was absolutely necessary for their Preservation; and yet they had rais'd most unreasonable Imputations and Reproaches on him, as if he had fail'd in their Defence and Relief: They had feen the wonderful and insupportable Wants and Necessities the Army had always undergone, and knew very well how all Warrants had been difobey'd for the bringing in of Money or Provision for the Supply thereof, and yet their Country was full of Clamour and Difcontent for the Payment of Taxes, and being exhausted with Contributions, he defird them therefore to examine where any Milde

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Misdemeanours had ined Truthol been that they might be punish'd; and from whence the Scandal and Calumnies proceeded, that the Minds of the People might be inform'd and compos'd. The Commissioners had, for the most part, very diligently and faithfully intended the Service from the Beginning, according to the Trust reposid in them, yet there were some among oftem too able and dexterous in Bufinels, who always malign'd the Perfon of the Marquess, or rather his Religion, and the Authority he represented, and whatfoever Profesions they made of Respect to him, still maintain'd a close Intelligence and Correspondence with those of the Clergy, who were the most disaffected to his Majesty's Interest, and who from the Misfortune at Rathmines, had underhand fomented and cherish'd all the ill Humours and Jealousses of the People.

Commillie_ mers Ad-

The Commissioners advis'd the Marquess as the best Expedient, to satisfy the Counwice to the try that Orders might be fent to them to elect forme few Perfons among themselves, to fend to Kilkenny as Agents to represent those Grievances which were most heavy on them, and to offer any Defire that might promote their Security, alledging that they could by this Means be clearly inform'd how groundless their Jealousies were, and the Artifice would be discover'd which had been

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been used to corrupt their Affections; that the Manquels well know how redious and inconvenient this Courle might prove. and rather advance all the leandalous and feditious Deligns, than fuppress them; yet he forefaw as well, that if it were declin'd by him, he should have been unavoidably reproach'd with not being willing to be inform'd of the just Grievances of the People, and confequently not to remedy them; and therefore without giving Countenance to any fuch irregular Convention, by any formal Summons of his own, he gave way that the Commissioners should write their Letters; and accordingly the Agents Agents did come thither from feveral Countries, from the to communicate and prefent their Com-represent plaints and Defires together in January pretended following, and the Lord Lieutenant re-Grievanceiv'd them with good Countenance, and with'd them freely to confult together as foon as they could, to present whatever they had to fay to him, to which they should be fure to receive a speedy An-Iwer. in alenganial entroit

In the mean time the Bishops and Clergy of themselves, and without any Authority, receiv'd or desir'd from the Lord Lieutenant, affembled at Clanmacnois, up-Affembly on the River Shannon, upon whose Coun- of the fels and Conclusions all Mens Eyes were gy. more fix'd than upon what the Agents

should represent at Kilkenny, it being very evident, that notwithstanding all the whole Catholick Nobility of the Kingdom, and all the principal Persons of Quality and Interest heartily concurr'd with the Marquess, and the Commissioners of Trusty for the most Part, were as jealous for the Execution and Observation of the Articles of Peace. and that the same might be render'd useful to the Nation; yet the Clergy and religious Persons had found Means to obstruct

Their per- that Union, which was necessary for the nicious In- carrying on of the Work, and especially the People had that Influence upon the corporate Towns, that no Garrison should be receiv'd there, or fuch Submission paid to the Lord Lieutenant or the Council's Orders as was effential to their own Defence, and to the making War against the Rebels; so that all Men were in Suspense what would be the Issue of that Meeting; and it cannot be deny'd, but that the Bishops and that Part of the Clergy which were best affected, and knew the Ways that were most conducing to the Happiness of their Country, prevail'd so far, that the Conclusions which were there made, were full of Respect to the King's Service, and full of wholfome Advice and Counfel to the People; They declar'd How vain a thing it was to imagine that there could be any Security for the Exercise of their Religion, for the

Of the Affairs of Ireland. 153

the Enjoyment of their Fortunes, or for the Preservation of their Lives by any Treaty with or Promife from the English Rebels; That they abborred all Factions, Animosities, and Divisions which rag'd among themselves, to the Hindrance of the publick Service, and therefore enjoyed all the Clergy, of what Quality soever, and Ecclesiastical Persons, by Preaching, and all other Means, to incline the People to an Union of Affection, and to the laying aside all Jealousies of each other, and unanimously to concur in opposing the common Enemy, and appointing the Bishops and other Persons to proceed with great Severity against those Religious and Spiritual Persons, who should underband cherish and foment those Jealousies and Divisions: In a Word, they faid so much and so well, that when the Lord Lieutenant was inform'd of it, and law the Extract of their Determinations, he conceiv'd some Hope that it might indeed make some good Impression on the People, and produce a very good Effect.

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The Agents from the Country spent some time at Kilkenny, in preparing Heads of such Grievances as they thought fit to present to the Lord Lieutenant, who call'd still upon them to dispatch: But upon Conference with the gravest of the Commissio-Commers, they found how groundless all those plaints of Slanders were, which they believ'd before found to be they came thither, and so could not agree groundless.

On

on any Particulars to complain of s belides they met with some Disturbance there; Cromwell knowing how the fmall Forces were scatter'd abroad, march'd with a strong Party towards the Town, with which the Agents were so allarm'd, that they would no longer stay there, but defird the Marquels to let them adjourn to Ennis, in the County of Clare, which they did, and though they met there, yet they never agreed on any Draught of any Grievances to be presented, though they made that ill use of their Meeting to propagate the Scandals and Imputations groundlesly rais'd, and to inflame the People by the fame Untruths. Notwithstanding this Allarm and Danger the Lord Lieutenant's Person and the Town was in, all the Power and Authority he had could not in Ten Days draw Five Hundred Men together to relift the Enemy; however, the Town's-Men appear'd fo ready and prepar'd for their Defence, and the Marquels putting all his own Friends and Servants on Horfeback, with which he made a Troop of about an Hundred, look'd with fo good a

The Lord Lieutenant with an inconsideobliges Cromwell to draw off from Kil-

kenny.

rableForce, Countenance upon the Enemy, that he retir'd, and shortly after the Lord Lieutenant remitted the Charge of the Place and the Country adjacent to the Earl of Cafilebaven, and went himself upon a more im-

portant Bufiness to Lymerick.

Though

Though the Rebels (by the Faction and Obstinacy of the People, who could not hitherto be induc'd to make reasonable Provision for Detence) had prevail devery far, and pollels'd themlelves of very good The Pro-Places without any confiderable Opposition, gress of the yet there remain'd a good Part of the King- Rebels dom free from their Power; the whole owing to Province of Connaught was still entire, and the Divithe Cities of Lymerick and Gallway in the Irish. Possession of the Catholicks, which might be made to strong, as not to fear any Strength the Rebels would bring before them, and are so situated for all Advantages of the Sea, that they might (being well supply'd) maintain a War against the whole Kingdom; there were Men enough, only wanted Order and Resolution to preserve themselves. The Marqueis resolv'd to be-Lord Lieugin with Lymerick, and if he could dif-tenant enpose that City to a full Obedience, and to preserve to receive a Garrison, he made no Que-Lymeftion, not only to fortify it against any Attempt of the Enemy, but under the Countenance of it, and by the Security of the River Shannon, to quarter his Troops, raife Contribution for their Support, discipline his Men, and in effect, by the Spring fo recruit his Army, that he might give Battle to the Rebels where-ever he should engage: And to this Purpole he went himself thither from Kilkenny, in the Month of Fanuary,

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muary, hoping that the good Refolution of the Bishops at Clamnacnois had well prepar'd the People to comply with him. But when he came thither, albeit he was receiv'd with outward Demonstrations of Refpect, he found their Temper not fuch as he defir'd, whatfoever the Bishops had declar'd; the Clergy had observ'd none of those Directions, nor were any in so much Credit, as they who behav'd themselves quite contrary to those Determinations; and if no way could be found out to allay this Spirit, all his Endeavours, he faw, would be without any Fruit; whereupon he refolv'd to try whether that Part of the Clergy which wish'd well to the Kingdom, could use as efficacious Means to preserve it, as the others, who desir'd Confusion, did to deftroy it: And upon Advice with the principal Persons of the Catholick Nobility, and with the Commissioners of Trust, he did, about the end of February, by Letters, defire as many of the Catholick Bishops as were within any convenient Distance, to meet him at Lymerick, which they accordingly did. I all rouse of

Conference with the Commiffiomers of Zruft.

THEFT,

When they came thither, he conferr'd with them, in the Presence of the Commissioners of Trust, with all Frankness, upon the diffracted and disjoynted State of Affairs, and freely told them, That without the People might be brought to bave a full of

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full Confidence in him, and yield perfect Obedience to him, and without the City of Lymerick might be personaded to receive a Garrison, and obey his Orders, it was not to be bop'd that be could do any thing against the Rebels: He desir d them therefore, if they bad a Mistrust of bim, or a Dislike of his Government, that they would as clearly let him knows it, assuring them, that such was his Define of the Peoples Preservation, that there was nothing in his Power consistent with his Duty to the King, and agreeable with his Honour, that he would not do at their Defire for that End, letting them see withal, that his Continuance with the Name, and not with the Power of Lord Lieutenant could bring nothing but Kuin upon the Nation, as well as Dishonour upon him; so that he propounded unto them in plain Terms, either that they would procure a due Obedience to be yielded unto him, or propose some other Way, by his quitting the Kingdom, how it might be preferrid by the Menne to hand it wet burgh

After Consultation together, they returned with many Expressions of Respect and Affection to his Person, and faithfully promis'd to endeavour all that Obedience he desir'd, withal presenting him with a Paper of Advice, which contain'd (as they said) certain Remedies for removing the Discontents and Disgusts of the People, and for the advancing his Majesty's Service;

amongst

arriongst which they propos'd, That a Pri-vy Council might be framed by the Peers and others the Natives of the Kingdom, as well Spiritual as Temporal, to sit daily with him, and determine all the weighty Affairs of the Country by their Council, and many other Particulars concerning the raifing of Men, and conducting the War; to every one of which the Marquels gave them an Answer in Writing; amongs which he told them, That he could not understand how the present Distresses of the Kingdom could proceed from Want of a Privy Council, or how the framing of such a Council could advantage the Management of the War, which by the Articles of Peace was to be done by the Commissioners of Trust, with whom he did always communicate Matters of Importance; and therefore, be could not think fit unnecessarily to presume upon doing a Thing for which he had neither Power nor Precedent, the Nomination of all Perfons to be of the Privy Council, being always reserved by the King to himself; yet rather than he shou'd be wanting in any thing that was in his Power to facisfy the People, he wish'd that the particular Acts which the Priby Council had hevetofore done, and were now necessary to be done, might be instanced and fo far forth as, should appear necessary and fit, he would qualify Persons free from nif. Exceptions with such; and lo answer'd all their Propolitions, that they feem'd to be very well

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very well well latisfy detherewith, and thereupon publish'd a Declaration, in which they profess'd, That they did and would endeavour to root out of Mens Hearts all Jeulousies and finister Opinions, conteined either against his Execution, or the present Government, and they entreated him to give them further Instructions, declaring, That they were not deterred by the Want of the expected Success in the Affairs of the Kingdom, but rather animated to give such of Onsets, and to try all other possible ways, and did faithfully promise, that no helustry or Care should be wanting in them to reterre and execute his Directions.

When the Marquels proposed to the Commissioners of Truft, that Lymerick and other Places might be garrifon'd, he offered them the Names of three Perions of the Roman Catholick Religion, and of eminent Quality, Reputation, and Fortunes, out of them they might choose one for the Command of Lymerick, but refolving after to call this Affembly of the Bilhops thither; and to be there himself in Person, he defen'd the Proceeding in it further till then, that with their own Advice fuch a Person might be chofen for that important Charge, that should be beyond any Possibility of a just Exception from that Corporation; now he took all the imaginary Pains, and defrended to all the Arts of Perswasion, to latisfy those Citizens, who he perceiv'd

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were the most leading Men, of the Necessity

Ingratitenant.

Were

of their speedy receiving a Governour, and a Garrison, for the Preservation of their Interest, and whatsoever would be of Value with any People: But he was fo far from tude of the prevailing with them, that they perform'd Lord Lieu- not those outward Civilities and Respects to him, which had been in no other Place deny'd. The Officers who commanded the City Guards, neither came to him for Orders, nor imparted them to him, No Officer of the Army, or other Berlon, could without special Leave of the Mayor (which was often very hardly obtain d) be admitted to come to his Presence, to receive his Commands, and Directions for the relifs ing and opposing the Rebels, who at that Time prevail d in the very County of Lymerick it felf; and to publish the Contempt they had of the King's Authority, they committed to Prilon the Vilcount Killman lock, a Catholick Peer of the Realm, and an Officer of the Army, (the Lord Lieute-nant himself being upon the Place,) for no other Reason than for quartering one Night fome few Horle-men under his Command, by the Marquels's own Orders, within the

Liberty of the City.

All this being done to contrary to the Injunctions which the Bishops had published for the Direction of the People, and at a Time when they were affembled there

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and when he despaired of perswading them to what fo properly concern'd their own Interest, the Marquess thought it would not be agreeable to the Honour of his Ma2 fler, to remain any longer in the Place, where fuch Affronts and Contempts were put upon his Authority; and yet being willing still to expect some good Effects from the Observtaion and Discretion of the Bishops, who could not but discern what Ruin must immediately attend such Licence and Difobedience, he appointed all the faid Bishops, and as many more as would be perswaded, to come thither, and the Commissioners, to meet him at Loghreab.

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When they appear'd at Logbreak, the Representation. Marquels represented to their Memories, tation of what they before had been Witnesses of, and the Lord observed at Lymerick the Neglects he had nant to the born there, and defir'd them to remove these Irish. causeless Distrusts, which (being maliciously infus'd into the Peoples Minds) did slacken, if not wholy withdraw their Obedience from his Majesty's Authority; wished them to consider how impossible it was for him with Honour, or any hope of Success, to contend against a powerful, absolutely obey'd, and plentifully supply'd, Enemy; himself being under such domestick Disadvantages, Distrusts, and Disobedience; and concluded that if the Consequence of the Service could not induce them

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to be all of one Mind, in putting a Garrison into Lymerick, or if (being of one Mind) they could not induce the City to Obedience and Submission to their Determination, he could no longer entertain a Hope of giving any Check to the Enemy, and would thereupon consider how otherways to dispose of himself.

Both the Bishops and the Commissioners were really (or at least feem'd) so entirely convinc'd of the Necessity of erecting that Garrison, and putting that City into a better Posture of Defence than at that time it appear'd to be in, that the Commissioners in whom that Trust was repos'd by the Articles of Peace, order'd it to be done and fent two of their Members, with their Order, to Lymerick, and with a Letter to the Mayor to conform thereunto, and the Bishops wrote to the Arch-bishop of Castel and the Bishop of Lymerick, defiring them To use their utmost Endeavours to incline the City to submit to the Direction of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Commissioners of Trust; and having done this they departed to those Places they thought fit, to difpose all the People (as they profes'd) to all Acts of Conformity and Obedience: But the Commissioners in a short time return'd from Lymerick, without having in any Degree prevail'd with them to receive either a Governour or Garrison, or to conform themselves to any Orders that the Lord

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Lord Lieutenant or the Commissioners should fend to them, otherways than agreed with their own Inclinations; inflead of making Choice of any of those Three who were nominated to them for their Governour, all of the Roman Catholick Religion, of very confiderable Interests in the Kingdom, and of great Reputation, (upon the Matter) declar'd, That they would keep the Power in their own Fatal Jea-Hands; and for receiving of a Garrison, lousies of they propos'd some Particulars, what Men of the Irish Catholicks, and what they would not, what Course should be taken for the Support of them, and through whose Hands it should pass, and many other things directly contrary to the Articles of Peace which had been with Solemnity proclaim'd in the City, and unto which they had profefs'd all Submission.

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All this Perveriness, Obstinacy, and In-Lord Lieugratitude could not yet extinguish the Af-feveres in fection and Compassion which the Marquess his Loyal had towards them, and he clearly discern'd Endeathat it proceeded not from the Spirit that was included and confin'd within those Walls, but that it was the same that was working generally in other Places; he was well enough fatisfy'd that they that were most passionately possess'd with it, had not Correspondence with the English Rebels, nor had a Mind to be subjected to their Power;

Power; he was willing therefore to believe that they had fancy'd and imagin'd some Expedient to themselves for their own Preservation, which could not fall within his Comprehension, and that they might have contracted some Prejudice to his Perfon, or to his Religion, which might keep them from fuch an Union and Confidence as they might be reduc'd unto under some Catholick, who might be as zealous to preserve his Majesty's Interest, and to recover the Kingdom to his Obedience; and he was the more confirm'd in this Apprehension, by revolving the several Passages which had happen'd at his being at Lymerick, during the time that they feem'd to pay him much Respect; the Lord Inchequin had been then with him, towards whom they had observ'd the Marquess had a great Confidence and Friendship, (as he well deferv'd) and some principal Persons of the City with them: Some of the Bishops had, under a great Confidence and Trust, (in Shew) repair'd to the Lord Lieutenant, and declar'd unto him, that all that Indifposition and Waywardness in the People, proceeded from a Prejudice they had against the Lord Inchequin, who had always, they faid, profecuted the War against them with the most Rigour and Animosity, and the Places and Persons that he had most at his Devotion, having treacherously revolted

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revolted to the Rebels, the People were not confident of him, and jealous that he had too great a Confidence in the Marquess; so that if he would dismiss that Lord, and discharge the Troops that yet remain'd Foolish Pounder his Command, (and of which some lies of the frequently ran away to the Rebels) not only the City, but the whole Nation would,

as one Man, be at his Disposal.

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Whilst these Infinuations were thus practis'd to the Lord Lieutenant, other Persons (and those as leading Men with an equal Number of Bishops) apply'd themselves to the Lord Inchequin, and told him, That while the Affairs were conducted by the Marquess of Ormond they expected no good Fortune; That they look'd upon him as not of their Nation, and one lo solicitous for the English Interest, and for all English Men, that he nothing regarded of theirs; That his Lordship was of the most ancient Extraction of Ireland, and under that Notion, look'd upon with great Affection and Reverence by the Irish, and if the Government and Command were exercis'd by him, there would be such an Obedience faid to him, that he could in a short time grow frong enough to oppose the Enemy and recover his Country, When these two Lords had communicated each to other (as they quickly did) the excellent Address that had been made M 3

to them, and agreed together how to draw on and encourage those Proposers, that they might discover as much of their Purpoles as was possible, they easily found their Defign was to be rid of them both, but proceeded with those Difrespects which are mention'd before.

The Marquess having fadly consider'd all this, and that nothing might remain un-

attempted by him, that he could poffibly imagine might tend in any Degree for the

Recovery or Preservation of the Kingdom, he appointed two Meetings to be at Logh-

reab, and fummon'd thither all the Catho-

lick Bishops, as many of the Nobility as could with any Security come thither, the

chief Gentlemen of Quality in the Parts ad-

jacent, and feveral Officers of the Army,

which being met together, he gave them,

in the first place, an Answer in Writing to

the Grievances which had been prefented

to him at the former Meeting, in which he

Lord Lieu- made it evident, How much they were mista-

ken in much of the Matters of Fact, and that what was really amis proceeded from them-

selves, and their not observing the Orders and

Rules they were bound by, and could not be

prevented by him, who consented to all the

good and practicable Ways propos'd by them-le wes for remedying the like for the future:

He remember'd them of the Pains he had taken,

of the Propositions be had made, of the Orders

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tenant's Answer to the Irish pretended Grievances.

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lers he he had given, and of the Neglects, Disobedience, and Affronts he had received, by which alone the Rebels had made that Progress in their Success: He shew'd them a Letter he bad lately received from his Master the King, bearing Date the Second of February, from Jersey, in answer to one be bad Written to his Majesty in December, to give him an Account of the State of the Kingdom, and Carriage of the City of Waterford (then newly) to him, which is let down at large before; upon Perusal whereof his Majesty had in his Letter fignify'd his Pleasure to him, That in Case of the Continuance of that Disobedience in the People, and Contempt of his Authority, his Lieutenant Should withdraw himself and his Majesty's Authority out of that Kingdom: He told them, that kaving receiv'd so little Effect of all the Pains he had taken, and so ill Returns for all the Affection he had shew'd them, he resolv'd to make use Heresolves peedily of the Liberty the King had given Ireland. him, as to his own Person, which he found was render'd so unacceptable to the People, yet if they could propose to him any Way how he might deposite the King's Authority, in such a Manner as it might not be expos'd to the same Affronts it had received in him, and might be apply'd to the preserving of the People, and the Recovering of the Kingdom, he would gladly ratify them, and would heartily wish that they might receive that Happiness M 4

An HISTORICAL VIEW

by his Absence, which they could not have by his Presence, and to that Purpose defir'd them to consult seriously and maturely among themselves.

Upon this, all the Bishops, Nobility, and

The Irish, concern'd at this Re-Solution, Address the Lord

Commissioners of Trust, with the principal Gertiemen, express'd very much Trouble at the Resolution the Marques had Lieutenant taken, and on the last Day of April, in the Year 1650, made an Address to him in Writing, under their feveral Hands, in which (among other things) they told him, That they conceiv'd themselves in Duty bound, for his better Information of the Inclination of the Nation, humbly to present to him, that however his Excellency might not have met a ready Concurrence to some Proposals made for the Advancement of his Majesty's Service, occasion'd by some mistaken Understanding in some few Persons and Places, yet the Country generally, and the Nation in it, as they had already, by the expending their Substance in an extraordinary Measure, and their Lives upon all Occasions, abundantly testify'd their sincere and immoveable Affections to preserve his Majesty's Rights and Interest entire to him, fo they would for the future, with like Chearfulness, endeavour to overcome all Difficulties which the Enemies Power and Success bad laid in their Way, and that they who were (and they doubted not but the same was the geneial Sense of the whole Nation) would, with all Care

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Care and Earnestness endeavour, not only to conserve in the People such their good Inclination, but if any Person or Places should be refractory, or decline that Obedience which is due to his Majesty's Authority, they would contribute their best Endeavours to reduce them, and to make them conformable unto the same; and after many other specious Professions and Protestations of their Zeal to obey his Excellency, They humbly befought him, To appoint Commanders in the several Provinces, to whom those of his Majesty's Subjects (who by the Excitements of the Clergy were ready with all Affection to undergo that Care, should be encourag'd to take up Arms) might repair for the Opposing of the Power of the Rebels.

How respective soever this Address was, and how solemnly soever it was presented, the Lord Lieutenant was resolv'd not to be long satisfy'd with those general Declarations of their good Designs and Purposes, and therefore the very next Day he sent them a Letter containing what he would expect from them, which, for the more clear manifestation of the whole Proceedings, shall be here saithfully inserted; as

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A FTER our hearty Commenda-The Lord tions, in answer to your Let-Lieute-nant's Leta ter of the last of April, we think fit to ter to the put you in Mind, that upon communica-Assembly ting reah.

An HISTORICAL VIEW

" ting to you his Majesty's Letter of " the second of February, We then acquain-" ted you at large with what had pals'd at Waterford, which being by us represene ted to his Majesty, occasion'd the send-" ing the faid Letter; as also that we found " the City of Lymerick had taken exam" ple thereby, to affront and contemn his " Majesty's Authority in us, and from us, " by the Consent of the Representative of " the confederate Catholicks, at the Con-" clusion of the Peace, derived to the « Commissioners; both which you pass « over with an Extenuation of those Dif-" obediences, and (by attributing them to " some Misunderstanding) you feem, in a " manner, to excuse them; whereas we " had reason to expect that (suitable sto " your general Professions) you would " have refented the particular Deport-" ment of those Places, and propos'd to us how the Contrivers thereof might " be brought to Justice, and reduc'd to perfect Obedience: For as your Professe fion and earnest Endeavours, not only " to conferve in the People the good Inse clinations you find in them, but if any " Person or Place should be refractory, " or decline that perfect Obedience due "to his Majesty's Authority, you will contribute your best Endeavours to reduce them, and make them conforma-D at Logb ee ble

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whole to the same, cannot be evidenc'd or made good by you, but by applying those Endeavours where we give you undeniable Instances of Refractoriness and Disobedience; so there can be no Instance of it more pregnant, or (if it be persisted in) more destructive to his Majesty and the Nation than that of Lymerick to the immediate reducing where of.

"We therefore thought, and do now " expect, you would effectually apply your " felves; we are well fatisfy'd the Genera-" lity of the Country and Nation, who have a given the Proofs you mention of their " meer Affection to preserve his Majesty's "Rights entire to him, will persevere " therein, if those upon whose Examples " and Advice they very much guide their "Resolutions, be active and industrious to " lead and exhort them thereunto; but " we must withal let you know, that we " cannot hope that those good Affections " and Alacrities, in Defence of his Majesty's and your own Interest, can be " fuccessful, in the City of Lymerick, if " all other Cities and Towns, be not in perfect Obedience, and immediately put " under a military Government, for mili-" tary Matters, and thereby into a Condi-"tion of Defence and Offence, which to conceal from the People, were toward

them as great a Treachery, as it would be in us a vain Rashness (without a just Obedience first gained) to attempt oppoling the Strength and Power of the Rebels: And therefore we must and do declare, that as the Refractories of the "City of Waterford hath, more than any human Means, contributed to all the Success of the Rebels in these Parts, since our being at Waterford, and as the Want of a strong Garrison in Lymerick, (which we long fince defir'd might be put there, but we could not prevail) have been the greatest visible Means whereby the said Rebels have with small or no Assistance gain'd or destroy'd the County of Lymerick and other Parts adjacent, so the entire loss of the Kingdom to his Majesty, and the Destruction of the Nation, (which we have no hope to prevent, but by fufficiently and strongly garrisoning and fortifying the faid City) must be " imputed to that City if it shall persist " therein, and so whosoever encourages and connives with them therein, as to " the Distrust and Jealousies of the People, occasion'd (as you say) for want of Success in Service, the Sense of their Sufferings, whether from the Enemy or otherwise, cannot so reasonably be imputed to any human Cause, as to the want of garrisoning the Army in the principal Towns ment

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w Towns and Cities, wherein we cannot « yet prevail, nor ever could, till by the " Enemies lying at one End of the Town, " we were (not without articling and con-« ditioning) to put such Men as we could " then get, in at another End); for by the " want of garrifoning the Army, and by " being forc'd to quarter it at large, it was " not possible to have them exercis'd, " which (when they were brought toge-" ther) render'd them worse than so many " new rais'd Men, by how much they " had contracted a licencious Liberty, and " an habit of Rapine and Disobedience; " nor could we prevent Fraud in Musters, " or reasonably exact a strict Account " from the Officers, of Men fo scatter'd, who when they should be employ'd up-" on Service, were forc'd, or pretended " a Necessity (wherein we could not dif-" prove them) to range the Country to get "in Means that should enable them to " lerve. ception from the

"Also their Apprehension for want of Redress of their Grievances; we understand not what Grievances was there meant, unless those deliver d to us by the Arch-bishop of Tuam, on the first Day of April; for the other Grievances, though we long expected and desir'd them, We never saw any; save a Paper given to us on the 12th of March, at Lymerick,

" Lymerick, which, for the Forgery and "Calumnies, and other misbecoming Pal-" fages contain'd in it, was, as fuch, dif-" own'd by the Clergy then met and " those given us of the first of April, " we return you here with fuch Answer, " as (confidering the Generality of them) " is possible for us to give by "We have already, with the Advice of " the Commissioners and others, (we be-" lieve) with the Approbation of such of " the Bishops as were present, appointed " the Earl of Cafflebaven to command the "Forces in Leinster and in Munster: With " the like Advice and Approbation, We "have employ'd Col. David Roche to com-" mand, for a necessary Expedition; be-" fides, there is always on the Place there, "sa general Officer that will readily receive " and employ any that shall be prevailed " with to take Arms, as is promis'd; and " in case we find a fit Obedience and Rece ception from the City of Lymerick, We " shall be ready in Person to receive and " conduct fuch Forces in the faid Province. is In Ulfter, in Pursuance of an Agree-5 ment made with that Province, We give our Commission to the Arch-bishop of "Clogher, and in Connaght, the Lord Mar-" quess of Clarrickard commands the Army: " We know no use, to which any Money " rais'd upon the People hath been emce ploy'd

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emoy'd "ploy'd, but to the Maintenance of the Forces; if you do, we shall be glad to be therein inform'd, to the End that any past Misapplication thereof may be examin'd and punish'd, and the like prevented for the future.

"To conclude, we seriously recom-

"To conclude, we seriously recommend to your Consideration, the procuring such Obedience to his Majesty's
Authority in general and in particular
from the City of Lymerick, as may enable and encourage us with Honour and
Success, according to our Desires, to
use our utmost industry, and to encounter all Hazard for the Desence of the
Kingdom and the Nation, against the
"Tyranny that will certainly be exercised
upon them, and the insupportable Slavery they will be subject to if the Rebels

Your very Loving Friend,

" prevail; and so we bid you heartily fare-

" them, and employed two of the lew?"

ment of to ORMON B

From Loghreah, though that estadors ". ift. of May, 165 denote that the series "

Endors'd for the Arch histop, Nobility, Bishops, and Commissioners authorized by Us, in Pursuance of the Articles of Peace, and others assembled at Loghreah.

Upon

An HISTORICAL VIEW 176

the faid

Letter.

Upon receipt of this Letter they made Address on another Address to the Marquels in Writing, in which they laid, is They were ve-"ry far from intending by any Expression they had us'd, to excuse that Deportment of the City of Lymerick, nor could " any Man (they faid) more feelingly than "they, refent the personal Disrespect to-" wards his Excellency while he was late-" ly in that City, whereof they had in "their Letters, then ready to be fear by " a Committee employ'd by them to that "Corporation, taken Notice, and they s did hope that by their Deportment they " would merit to have it understood, that " it proceeded from Ignorance rather than " Malice, and that concerning the garri-" foning of the City, the Clergy, (that had met fately there) and the Commissioners " of Trust, had written very effectually to " them, and employ'd two of the Com-" missioners of Trust thither, to solicit " their Compliance to his Excellency, and to represent to them the Danger and er Prejudice that would enfue their Refra-" ctoriness; and though it had not taken " that Effect with them which was expect-" ed yet they humbly offer'd his Excellency, "that a fecond Effay was to be made; and his Excellency's farther Commands to be sent thither, whereunto, if they

" should not listen, they promis'd, as much

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as in them lay, that they would in their repective Degrees and Quality, according to their respective Powers, so far as should be thought fit and necessary upon Consideration had, of what had been proposed hitherto between his Excellency and the Commissioners of Trust and them, concerning the garrisoning of that City corporate, to reclaim them, bring them to perfect Obedience; bumbly desiring, that what Resolution soever should be taken by that City, yet that his Excellency would be pleased, not to impute it to any Disaffection in them, or want of Zeal in the Nation to advance his Majesty's Service; and in regard, the transacting of that Business might take up some time; it was humbly desir d, that his Excellency would be pleased to use his immediate Care, for forwarding of the Service, and settling of Affairs in other Parts of the Kingdom, answerable to the present Danger and Condition, wherein it was, that there might be some visible Opposition to the growing Power of the Enemy. At the same time that they sent this Address to the Marquels, figned by the Name of the Bihops and Commissioners, (which was in the beginning of May 1650.) they likewise fent the Archbishop of Tuam, and Sir Lucas Dillon, to Lymerick, with as reasonable and pressing Letters to that Corporation for receiving a Garrison.

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The Marquess alters bis Resolution of leaving Ireland.

This demeanour in the Affembly, and all the visible results of their Consultation, together with the deep Expressions of Loyalty to the King, and of Respect to his Lieutenant, prevailed to far with the Marquels, that he again declined his Purpole of quitting the Kingdom; and thereupon he dismist a Frigot that he had bought, and fitted for his own Transportation: And though the Archbishop of Tuam, and Sir Lucas Dillon returned from Lymerick, without that intire Submillion from the City that was expected, yet he was willing to make the best Interpretation of their great Profession of Duty, and to believe, that they would by Degrees be in-duced to do what they ought, and that he might be the nearer them to encourage any fuch Inclination, he removed to Clare twelve Miles from Lymerick, and gave or-der to the Troops, which for conveniency of Quarters were scattered at a greater Distance, to be ready to draw to a Rendezvouz, and was shortly after (very reasonably) induced to be almost confident, that the City was well disposed; for having one Day (about the 11th of June) winted fome Troops, which he had affembled within four Miles of Lymerick, and returning at Night to Clare; the next Day two Aldermen of the City came to him with this following Letter, from the Mayor of that Corporation. May The same of

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Carrifon, yet the Aldermen that brought May of pleinfe your fixelienty, but abam ti PIE Council having given me Letter divec Command to fignifie, and from the " bly offer to your Excellency, that it Lymerick " was expected by them, that you would to the Lord c (being 16 hear the City Yefferday) be-Lieurenant chow ta White on 18, Whith is no way a doubted had been done, if your greater Affairs had not hindered you; and they do yet expect, when those are over, wour Excellency will be pleafelf to frep "Hither to lettle that Christon Here, which without your Prefence cannot (as is " humbly conceived be to well done, "With that Expedition our Necessities "require, the Particulars, whereaf we re-" fer to the bearers, Alderman Peince Creagh and Alderman John Bourke, their Rela-" tion, to whom we defite Credence may be given by your Excellency, and to be-" lieve, that I will never fail to be, Louis Lisend, Lymerick, 12th Your Excellency's June, 1650. Humble Servant. proposed to them, M son John Creagh Mayor of Lymerick.

This Letter might very well have raised an Expectation and Assurance, that there hould be no more Scruple of receiving a N 2 Garri-

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Garrison, yet the Aldermen that brought it, made such Pause in answering some necessary Questions, that the Marques returned them the same Night with this Answer.

Bord Lieutenant's Answer.

A Free our hearty Commendations, "We ", read your Letter of this Days date, " by the Conveyance of Alderman Peirce Creagh and John Bourke, and heard what John Bourke, and the other had to fay from that Corporation, in Answer whereunto, we imparted some Particu-" lars unto them: Wherein we expected " Satisfaction, which if you fend us to the " Rendezvouz to Morrow (where we intend to be) We shall visit that City, and imploy our best endeavours in set-" tling the Garrison pecessarily desired " there, both for the Defence and Satil-" faction of the City; and so we hid you " heartily Farewell, Clare, 12th Your Loving Friend, June 1650. merick, 12th

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Lord Lieutenant's Propofals.

The Particulars he proposed to them, were, if, To be received in the same Manner, and with such Respect, as the Lord Lieutenant heretofore had always been adly, To have Command of the Guard, giving the Word and Orders in the City.

3dy, That there might be Quarters provided within the City, for such Horse and Foot, as he should carry in, which should be part of the Garrison; and whereof a Lift should be given at the Rendezvouz, the next Day. Will old at board hund

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When the Marquels came to the Rendezvouz, two Aldermen met him there, and informed him, that the City had confented to all that he had proposed to them (except only the admittance of his Guards, which they were unwilling to do) whereupon he fent Messengers back with this Answer, That he intended not the drawing in of the Guards, out of any mistrust be had of the Loyalty of the Magistrates of the City to his Majesty, or of their Affection to himself: but for Dignity of the Place be held, and to prevent any popular Tumult, that might be raised by desperate and uninterested Persons against him, or the civil Government of the City, whereunto he had cause to fear some loofe People might by false and frivolous Suggestions be easily instigated; and to take away all possibility of Suspicion from the most Jealous; he told them, The Guard be meant to take with bim, should confist but of an bundred Foot and fifty Horse, and even those to be intirely of their own Religion, and such as having been constantly of the Confederacy, were interested in all the Benefits of the Articles of the Peace: And so ton to forme other sollie.

not imagining that they could refuse so Lord Lieu-reasonable an Overture, he went towards tenant ad-the City; but when he game very near the wards Ly-Gates, the same Aldermen cange again to merick. him, to let him know, that there was a ATumult Tuniult raised in the City by a Franciscan Fryer, called Father Wolf, and some others, thereon. against his coming into the Town, and in Oppolition to the Delires and Intentions of the Mayor and principal Citizens; and therefore they difwaded his going thither, until the Tumult should be quieted, fo that the Lord Lieutenant was compelled with that Affront to return, and refled that Night at Shanbally three Miles from the City; from whence he wrote to them the Sense he had of the Indignity offered to him, and wished them to consider not only by what Power they had been made a Corporation first, and by whose Protection they had since flourished, but also what solid Foundation of Safety (other than by receiving the Defence he had offered them) was, or could be proposed to them by the present Disturbers of their Quiet, and defired their present Anfwer, that in Case he might be encouraged to proceed in the Way he had laid down of serving the King, and preserving the City from the Tyranny of the Rebels; he might im mediately apply himself thereunto, or failing in

his defires therein, be might employ himself, and the Forces be had gathered for that Pur-

pose, to some other Service.

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But neither this, nor all he could do. upon subsequent Treaties and Overtures nioving from themselves, could at all prevail with them, no nor his Offering to put himself into the City, and running the fame Fortune with it, when Ireton was incamped before it; but they continually multiplied, and repeated their Affronts towards Repeated him, with all imaginable Circumstances of Affronts to Contempt fand in the End, that we may Lieutenant have no more Occasion to mention the feditious Carriage of this unfortunate City) broke open his Trunk of Papers, (which he left there,) leized upon the Stores of Corn laid up there for the Supply of the Army, when he believed, that Place would be obedient to him; and some Corn belonging to himself, and disposed of all according to their own Pleasure, and received forme Troops of Horse into the City, which contrary to the Marquels his Order left the Army, and with those Troops rail led Contribution in the County of Clare, upon those who had honeftly paid the same for the use of the Army, according to thole Orders which they were to obey; and when the Marquess sent to the Mayor to deliver the Officer of the faid Regiment as Prisoner to the Guard appointed to receive him, he could get no other Answer (and that not in a Week) than that the Government of that City was committed to land of Major

An HISTORICAL VIEW

Major General Hugh O Neal, and therefore he the Mayor could not meddle therein; and when the like Order was fent by the Marquels to Hugh O Neal, he returned Answer, That he was only a Cypher, and not fuffered to act any Thing, but what the Mayor and Council thought fit: So that in Truth, that City was no less in Rebellion to the King than the Army under Ireton was: Though it had for a time refifted the Army, and could never have been subdued by it, if it had ever been in that Obedience to the King, as by their Obligation it ought to have been, and therefore must have less Peace of Conscience to support them, in the Calamities they have fince undergone.

In the Letter formerly incerted from the Marquels, about the beginning of May, to the Bishop and Commissioners assembled at Logbreak, it is said, That in Persuance of the former Agreement, he had granted a Commission to the Bishop of Clogher, for the Command of the Province of Ulster, it will be therefore necessary to express, what that Agreement was, and the Pro-

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ceedings thereupon.

Clogher made with General O Neal, it was prosperinted vided. That in case of Owen O Neal's mand of the Death, or Removal by Advancement, or the Death of otherwise, before any Settlement in Parliament,

liament (to which all the Articles of Peace related) the Nobility and Gentry of the Province of Ulfter should have Power to name one to the Lord Lieutenant, as chief Governour for his Majesty, to command in the Place of the faid Owen O Neal, and the faid Command was to be conferr'd accordingly upon the Person so to be nam'd: And according to this Power, Owen O Neal being dead, the Nobility, Bishops, and principal Gentry of that Province, made Choice of the Bishop of Clogher to fucceed him in the Charge, and having fignify'd fuch their Election under their Hands, to the Lord Lieutenant; about the middle of March he granted fuch a Commission to him as he was oblig'd to do, and the Bishop with great Activity proceeded in infesting the English Rebels He infests in that Province, as much as was in his the Eng-Power, and having an Army confisting of bels. about 5000 Men, Foot and Horse, about the 23d of June, 1650, (when the Lord Lieutenant could not draw one Thousand Men together, or keep them, if together, Forty Eight Hours) he encounter'd not far from Londonderry with Sir Charles Coote, who commanded the English Rebels in those Quarters, and was then inferior in Foot to the Bishop, tho' otherwise he had a great Advantage of him, by having near trible the Number of Horse, notwithstanding which This

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which Inequality, the Irish behav'd them felves with Courage, but in the End were totally defeated, to that the Bishop was compell'd, after he saw the Day totally loft, to quit the Field with a small Party of Horse that attended him, and the next Day in his Flight he had the Missortune, near Emiskilling, to meet with the Governour of that Town, in the Head of a Party too strong for him, against which however, the Bishop defended himself with notable Courage, but after he had received many Wounds, he was forc'd to become Prisoner woon Promise first that he should

Is defeated Prisoner upon Promise first that he should by Coote, have fair Quarter, contrary to which Sir

Charles Coote, as foon as he knew he was a And basely Prisoner, caus'd him to be hang'd with all murder'd, the Circumstances of Contumely, Reproach,

and Cruelty he could devife,

doidw

This was the End of that unfortunate Prelate, whom, fince he bore so great a Part in the Troubles of Ireland, and was much superior in Parts to any Man of that Party, it will not be impertinent or uncharitable to mention some Particular Passages of his Life, that thereby his Nature and Disposition may be the better collected, and indeed the Spirit and Temper of Mind which those kind of Men were possessed with, who had the greatest Abilities to do hurt some sew Years before the Rebellion.

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Of the Affairs of Ireland. 280

This Ever Mac Mabon being an Irifb His Cha-Priest, and residing for the most Part in ratter and or near, Dublin, repair'd to Sir George Raddiffe, who had a principal Part in the mamging of Affairs in Ireland, and being admitted to his Presence, desir'd to have some private Conference with him, without the Presence of any other; all Attendance and Strangers being withdrawn, he fell on his Knees, and said, He came to put his Life mto bis Hands, told him he had committed many Treasons against the King, for which he felt that Remorse of Conscience, that he resolv'd rather to offer his Life a Sacrifice by confessing it, than endure the Torment he felt by concealing it; That he was capable of no quiet of Mind but by disburthening himself, and if by the Grace and Mercy of the King he might obtain a Pardon for what was past, he would in such Manner apply himself to bis Majesty's Service, that he would, in some Degree, merit the Benefit: And then told him, Of several Treaties which were abroad with foreign Princes, in order to the Disturbance of the Peace of the Nation.

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Upon hearing him, and those great Expressions of Penitence, Sir George writes to one of the Secretaries of State in England, to inform his Majesty of all the Particulars, who (according to the Clemency of his Nature) sent a Warrant over for the preparing and passing his Pardon, which shortly

shortly after Sir George deliver'd to him, who again falling on his Knees, and magnifying the Mercy of the King, faid, He had now Peace of Mind, defir'd nothing but to deserve the Favour of so gracious a So. vereign. That he would content himself with that Evidence of his Majesty's Goodness with out making further use of it, or sueing out his Pardon according to the Formalities and Rules of Law, which, the necessary for his own Security, would (being that way made pub. lick) disenable him from doing his Majesty that Service he intended, since he should be admitted into those Trusts, without which he could make no Discoveries.

From hence forward, during the whole Government of the Earl of Strafford, he gave frequent Advertisements of some Agitations by obscure and unknown Persons of that Nation, at Rome, and in France, and Spain, which were rather Instances of Murmuring, and feditious Purpofes, than (reasonably) like to produce any notable Disturbance. From the beginning of the Rebellion his Power was very great with those that had been most (and he was of the least Dissimulation) violently opposite to any Reconciliation, upon the first and lecond Conclusion of Peace by the confederate Catholicks, and so he continu'd firm to the Party which follow'd Owen O Neal, or rather govern'd Owen O Neal who commanded

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manded that Party, and over and above thole Demands which concern'd Religion, (to which they feem'd to adhere with more than ordinary Zeal, and thereby drew a depending of that Clergy to them) they infilted upon the Restitution of the great Estates in Ulster, which was not in the Power of the Crown, without Violation of feveral Acts of Parliament, and defeating many Descents and Purchases which had past without any Interruption or Claim for the Space of one Hundred and Fifty Years. This impossible Expediation, kept Owen O Neal and the Bishop of Glogber from concuring with the confederate Catholicks, in the Peace be made with his Majesty; and the Animosity they contracted against the Confederates, inclin'd them to relieve Dary, when (as it is remember'd before) it was even ready to be reduc'd by his Majesty's Forces, rather than submit to the Peace made by them with the Lord Lieutenant. After they had found it necessary to make that Agreement with the Marquels, it must be acknowledg'd, that the Bishop perform'd, and observ'd very justly, (as he was punctual in what he promis'd) and apply'd himself with all Dexterity and Industry to the Advancement of his Majesty's Interest, so that during his Time he retain'd the Clergy in all their Assemblys, from making

Letter to

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making lamy Aces which might disconage the People from their Obedience to the King's Authority, and eliersfore how theon venient foever his Service had been to the Peace and Happiness of that Nation his Death was very unfeatonable, which was remarkable and notorious in thele Cheim Stances, That in less than a Year afterno had brought Owen O Neul to relieve Si Charles Coote in Derry, (who must otherwise in a few Days time have deliver out uples the King) his Army was defeated by the fame Sir Charter Coote, and Himfelfi after Quarter and Dife promises executed by the positive Order and Command of him in the Peace his visits with bird shi month

Toward the End of July the Marquels received a Lecter fublished drawer of the Police o

May it pteale your Excellency of share some

Letter to
the Lord
Lieutenant from
the Titular Archbishops of
Dublin
and Tu-

Fable and Reproach, Chilliand in Fable and Reproach, Chillian in Fable and Reproach, Chillian in the high to a fad Condition, not with funding the frequent and faborious Meetings and Confultation of Prelates; we find Jehlousies and Fear deep in the Hearts of Men, Thorns hard to be cut out; We fee most Men contributing to

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" the Enemy, and and rendering their " Persons and Substance weles to his Ma-" jesty, and destructive to Religion and the " King's Interest These kind of Men (if " not prevented) will immediately betray " themselves and lus; We find no Stock " or Subliftence for the Soldier, nor is " there any Army (any way considerable) " in the Kingdom, to recover what is " loft, or defend what we have: So, as "humanly speakings if God will not be "pleas'd for his Mercy Sake to take "from us the heavy Judgment of his An-"ger, we are afraid of doing facted Re-" ligion, the King's Authority; and Ireland: "The Four Archabilhops to acquit their "Confeiences in the Eye of God, have re-" folv'd to meet at Jame flown, about the "6th Day of the next Month, and to "bring along with them as many of the "Suffragans as may repair thicher with Safety: the Endoof this Confideration " is to do what in us lies for the Amendment of all Errors, and the Recovery of this afflicted People : If your Excellency " will think fit to fend one or more Perlons to make Proposals for the Safety of the whole Nation we shall mor want Willingnels to prepare a good Answer, nor will we despeir of the Bleffing of Gody and his powerful Influence to be noqu deliver'd to Policity, will indeed be danoup "

An HISTORICAL VIEW 192

" upon our fincere Intentions in that Place; " even lo we conclude, remaining 199 eight, and definitive to Relleion and the

there any Army (any way confiderable in the Kingdom, to recover what is

July 24. do but Your Excellency's gail " not prevented) will immediately .lo 7011

set on but W . Humble Servants !! " or Subliftence, for the Soldier, nor

o loft, or defend what we have: So, Whoever reads this Summons of Thvitation, will believe it to be Satis pro imperio, and that fuch a Direction to fend one of more Persons to make Proposals to them for the Safety of the Nation, and that fuch a negligent Expression (that twe shall not want Willingness to prepare a good An-(wer) could not proceed but from a luperior to an inferior Dependent , however, as the Marpuels knew it would be to no Purpose to inhibit their Meeting To he thought fit to write to them in this Manis to do what in us lies for the American

renant's Answer.

Lord Lieu-" A Fter our hearty Commendations, "We received yours of the 24th " of July, on the ist of this Month, and

ment of all Errors, and theolieover of

" do with much Grief acknowledge, That " this Nation is brought into a fad Con-

" dition, and that by frich Means, when

" it shall be known abroad, and by Histo-" ry deliver'd to Posterity, will indeed be

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" thought a Fable, for it will feem in-" credible that any Nation should so mad-" ly affect and violently purfue Ways lead-" ing to their own Destruction, as this " People will appear to have done, and " that after the certain Ruin they were " running into, was accidently and fre-" quently discover'd unto those that in all "Times, and upon all Occasions, have " had Power to compel or perswade them "to whatsoever they thought fit; and " it will be thought less credible when it " shall be declar'd, as in truth it will be, " that the Temporal, Spiritual, and Eter-" nal Interest and Safety of those that had " this Power, (and that have been thus " forewarned) did confift in making use of " it to reclaim the People, and direct them "into the Ways of Preservation: To be " plain, it cannot be deny'd but the Dif-" obedience we have met with, "we at large declar'd to many of you, "who with divers of the Nobility and "Gentry were affembled at Logbreagh in " April last) were the certain ready Ways to the Destruction of this Nation, as by our Letters to the Assembly we made " apparent, and ancient and late Experience "hath made the thing evident, what "Power those of your Function have had " to draw the People of this Nation to what they thought fit: Whether your

" Lordships have been convinc'd that the " Obedience which we defir'd should be " given to his Majesty's Authority, pur-fuant to the Articles of Peace, was the Way to preserve the Nation, we know " not; Or whether your Lordships have ec made use of all the Means upon other Occasions exercis'd by you, to procure " the necessary Obedience, we shall not determine: Sure we are, that since the " faid Assembly, not only Lymerick hath " persisted in the Disobedience it was in, and aggravated it by several Affronts " fince fix'd upon the King's Authority, but Galloway hath been seduc'd into " the like Disobedience, for want of a "due Compliance in those Places, but principally from Lymerick. It hath been impossible for us to raise an Army against the Rebels, for to attempt it any where on the other Side the Shannon, but near " Lymerick, and without absolute Com-" mand of that City to secure it, could be no other than certain Ruin of the " Design in the very beginning of it; " and to have done it on the other Side et the Shannon was impossible, since the "Ground-work of the Army must be rais'd " and supported from hence, which, while it was forming, would have exhausted all the Substance of those Parts, and not " have effected the Work: For want of fuch

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CC I " i " fuch an Army (which, with God's Af-" fince rais'd, if Lymerick would have " obey'd our Orders) the Rebels have " without any confiderable Relistance from " abroad, taken Clonmell, Terroghan, and " Catherlagh, and reduc'd Waterford and " Duncannon to great (and we fear irreco-" verable) Diftress: The Loss of those " Places, and the Want of any fuitable " Power to protect them, have doubtlefs " reduc'd many to contribute their Sub-" stance and personal Assistance to the Re-" bels, from whence, whether they might " have been held by Church Censures; we know not, but have not heard of " any fuch issu'd against them: And lastly, a for want of fuch an Army, the Rebels " have taken to themselves Contributions? " which confiderably would have affisted " to support any Army, and preserve the " Kingdom. If therefore the end of your "Consultation at Jamestown be to acquit " your Consciences in the Eyes of God, the Amendment of all Errors, and the "Recovery of this afflicted People, as " by your Letter, giving us Notice of your " Meeting, as is profes'd, we have en-" deavour'd briefly to shew, that the " Spring of our first Losses, and approach-" ing Ruin, arises from Disobedience, and "it will not be hard to shew, that the " Spring

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An HISTORICAL VIEW

" Spring of this Disobedience arises from " the Forgeries invented, and Calumnies " spread against the Government, and " Enticement of the People to Rebellion, " by very many of the Clergy. " these are Errors frequently practis'd, and fit for an Aniendment, is no more " to be doubted, than that unless they be er amended, the Affliction of the People " will continue, and as it is to be fear'd. " end in their utter Destruction; which if " prevented by what your Consultations will produce, the happy Effect of your " Meeting will be acknowledg'd, with-" out questioning the Authority by which you met. Proposals from us, other than " what we have formerly, and now by ce this our Letter, made, we hold not so necessary. And so we bid you heartily farewel,

Your Lordships

Affectionate Friend,

Roscommon, Aug. 2.1650.

directed to our very
good Lords, the Archbishops and Bishops met
at Jamestown.

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Upon

Sense

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, several Bishops who met at Jamestown sent the Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Charles Kelly, to the Lord Lieutenant with this Letter of Credit.

May it please your Excellency,

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D.

7 E receiv'd your Letter of the fe- Letter of VV " cond Currant, where, to our Gredit from the Grief and Admiration, we saw some Ex-Bishops at " pressions that seem meant for the cast-James-" ing the Blame upon us of the present town. " fad Condition of the Kingdom, which " we hope to answer, to the Satisfaction " of your Excellency and the whole King-" dom; in the mean time we permit this " Protestation, as we are Christian Catho-" lick Bishops, that we have done our " Endeavours, with all Earnestness and " Candour, for the taking away from the " Hearts of the People, all Jealousies and " Differences, that were conceiv'd the Oc-" casion of so many Disasters that befel " the Nation, and that on all Occasions, " our Actions and Co-operations were ready to accompany all your Excellency's "Desires for the Preservation of his Ma-" jesty's Interest in this Kingdom, whose "State being in this present desperate " Condition; We have thought it our Duty to offer to your Excellency our

" Sense of the only Possibility we could devise for its Preservation, and that by the co Intervention, and Expression of the Lord 6 Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Charles Kelly, Co Dean of Tuam, who shall clearly deliver " to your Excellency our Thoughts and " good Intentions, as to this Effect, pray-" ing your Excellency to give full Credit " to what they will declare in our Names cc in this Business, which will be still own'd as our Commands laid upon them, and " the Declaration of the fincere Hearts

Your Excellency's

Aug. 10.

Most Humble Servants.

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H. Armagh, Jo. Archiep. Tuam, Nicholas Fernensis & Procurator Archiep. Dublin, Jo. Rapotensis, Eug. Killmore, Antonius Clanmacnensis, Archdiacon. & Procurator Leight, in Jamestown.

When the two Persons had deliver'd their Credential Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, he wish'd them, in Regard of the ImporImportance of the Matter they were intruffed with, to deliver what they had, in Writing: Whereupon they presented him with a Paper, containing these Words.

May it please your Excellency,

Being intrusted by the Clergy met Paper de" at Jamestown, to deliver a Mestiver'd to
the Lord

fage to your Excellency, imparting their LieuteAdvices, what only Means is, as they nant.

" conceive, that may serve to free the

" Nation from the fad Condition where-

" unto it is reduc'd at present, do, in Obe-

" dience to your Excellency's Commands, " fignify'd for giving the Substance of that

" Message in Writing, humbly represent

" the same to be as follows.

e

"That whereas your Excellency (they doubt not) hath labour'd by other Hands, to bring the best Aids that possibly could

" be had for the Relief of this galping Na-

" tion, yet finding now in their Confciences" no other Expedient or Remedy for the

"Profecution thereof, and of his Majesty's

" Interest therein, more prevalent than

" your Excellency's speedy Repair to his "Majesty for the preventing the Ruin and

" Desolation of all, and leaving the King's

"Authority in the Hands of fome Per-

An HISTORICAL VIEW

fon or Persons faithful to his Majesty, and trufty to the Nation, and fuch as the Affections and Confidence of the " People will follow, by which the Rage and Fury of the Enemy will receive Interruption, they humbly offer this important Matter, of the Safety or De-" struction of this Nation, and the King's " Interest, unto your Wisdom and Consi-" deration, hoping that the Kingdom, by " your Excellency's Presence with his Ma-" jesty, and intrusting the King's Autho-" rity fafely, as above, may, by God's " Bleffing, hold out, till reliev'd by his " Majesty with Supplies; the Prelates in er the mean time will do what lyes in their " Power to affift the Person, or Persons, " fo intrusted: The great Trust his Ma-" jesty doth repose in your Excellency, the " yast Interest of Fortune, the Allyance er and Kindred you have in the Nation, " and your Excellency's Presence in the " Management of Affairs of the greatest " Consequence, will, we doubt not, add-" ed to the other Reasons propos'd by " us, induce you to embrace their Advice, " as proceeding from our pious Inten-"tion, that look only upon the Preser-" vation of the Catholick Religion, the " Support of his Majesty's Authority, and the Estates, Liberties, and Fortunes of cc his

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" his Subjects of this Kingdom, which we " heartily offer, as

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pleined to doubt or whelk Complete Aug. 13th. Your Excellency's

Most Humble Servants,

Oliver Dromore. Charles Kelly.

Tho' the Marquels did not expect that the Meeting of the Bishops and Clergy in that Manner at Jamestown would have produc'd any better Effect, than their former Meetings in other Places had done, yet he could not imagine that their Prefumption would have been so great, as it appear'd by this Melfage to be, and when he communicated it to the Commissioners of Trust, they were not less scandaliz'd at it, and believ'd that upon serious Conference with the Bishops, they should be able to reform their Milunderstanding, and their Wills, and therefore defir'd the Marquess, that instead of sending a particular Answer to the Matter of the Message, he would write to them to give him a Meet-Lord Lice. ing at Logbreagh, on the 26th of the same tenant ap. Month, to the End, that upon a free Con-points a ference they might be induc'd to under-with the I. fand how pernicious a thing they had de-rish Bivis'd in order to their own Security. Loghre-

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The Bishop of Dromore and Dr. Kelly teturn'd with this Proposition, and the Marquess making no Doubt of their Complyance, so far as to meet at the Place he appointed, he went thither at the Day afsign'd; they suffer'd the Marquess to make a Journey to Loghreagh at the time appointed, but instead of meeting him themselves

But reject. ed, but instead of meeting him themselves, ed, and on- they sent the Bishops of Cork and Clonfert, by two Per- no otherwise intrusted than to receive his receive his Answer to the Proposition they had made for his leaving the Kingdom: To which,

when he saw he could not draw them to a Answer to Conference, he return'd, That they might their Pro-well remember, that upon the Disobedience he had formerly met with he had obtain'd leave

from his Majesty to depart the Kingdom, and that if themselves, the Bishops, the Nobility, and Gentry met together, had not in April last, in Writing and Discourse, given him Assurance, that they not only desir'd his Stay, but endeavour'd to procure him such Obedience as might well enable him (with hope of Success) to have carry'd on the War, he would have made use of the Liberty given unto him by his Majesty, to have freed himself from the Vexation he had since endur'd, and the Dish onour which he foresaw he should be subject to, for want of Power, without which (as he then told them) he should be able to do nothing considerable for the King or the Nation; that he had transmitted those Assurances to

Of the Affairs of Ireland. 203

his Majesty, with his own Resolution to attend the Effects; That he plainly observed that the Division was great in the Nation, under his Government, yet it would be greater upon his Removal, of which, in a free Conference he would have given them such pregnant Evidence, as he held not fit to declare to them in Writing: For these and other Reasons he told them, that unless he were forc'd by inevitable Necessity, he was not willing to remove out of the Kingdom, and desir'd them to use all Means within their Power, to dispose the People to their Dutyfulness and Obedience as became them.

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This wrought nothing on the Temper of these Men, who were resolv'd not to be fatisfy'd with any thing the Marquess could fay to them; infomuch, that within few Days after they had receiv'd his Anfwer from Logbreagh, at the time when the Rebels were strong in the Field, and had then pass'd the Shannon, if they had not been restrain'd by the few Troops the Marquess kept on Foot: They publish'd an Whereupon Excommunication against all those, of what they extra-Quality foever, who should feed, help, or excommuadhere unto the Lord Lieutenant, in which nicate all this Circumstance is observable, That the adhere to they did not publish this Excommunication the Lord until the 15th of September, it was enacted Lieutenant at their Assembly at Jamestown, the 12th of August, which was within two Days after

after they had fent the Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Kelly, to perswade the Marquels to leave the Kingdom, and the Day before they deliver'd their Message, which was on the 13th; fo that they thought any thing that the Lord Lieutenant should return to them, would be impertment to the Matter in hand, or if they were not fo delighted with their own Proceedings that they have themselves carefully publish'd to the World in Print, would it be believ'd that Persons who in the least Degree pretended the Care of the Peoples Welfare or Security, could, at fuch a time (when a potent, bloody, and malicious Enemy was in the Held) fet all Men loofe from all Government, Civil and Martial, and not direct them whom they should follow or obey; for it is said, They were advis'd to return to their Affociation, and until a General Assembly of the Nation could be conveniently call'd, unanimously to serve against the common Enemy; fince no Persons were nam'd or appointed to conduct them, it must be acknowledg'd, that they were left without any Directions at all, to the Rage and Sway of those who intended nothing but their utter Extirpation.

Together with their Excommunication, they publish'd in the Head of the Army, 2 and pub- Declaration, Entituled, A Declaration of ish a De- the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelater

elaration.

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and Dignitaries of the Regular and Secular Clergy of the Kingdom of Ireland, against the Continuance of his Majesty's Authority in the Marquess of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for the misgovernment of his Subjects, and ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army, and Violation of the Articles of Peace, dated at James-Town, in the Covent of the Fryers Minors, 12th August, 1650.

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If the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Secular, and Regular Clergy of Ireland, will take upon them to declare against the King's Authority where his Majesty hath placed it, and will make themselves Judges of his Supreme Minister, for the misgovernment of his Subjects, and ill Conduct of his Majesty's Army; they assume an Authority to themselves, which no other Christian Clergy ever pretended; and sufficiently declare to the King, how far they are from being Subjects, or intending to pay him any Obedience, longer than they are governed in such Manner, and by such Persons as they think sit to be pleased with.

If the Marquels of Ormond had milgoverned the People, and conducted his Majely's Army amils, the Clergy are not competent Judges of the one or the other; and for the Violation of the Articles of Peace, the Commissioners nominated and appointed for the due Execution of them, were the only Persons who could deter-

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mine and remedy fuch Violations, and who well knew there was no Caufe for their Complaint; but on the other hand, (as hath been before mentioned) they obstructed that Concurrence and Obedience in the People, without which those Articles could not be observed, or the Security of the People provided for.

Purport of The Preface of that Declaration (accord-

the Decla-ing to the usual Method) justified and magnified their Piety and Virtue in the beginning and carrying on of the War, extolled their Duty and Affection to the King, in Submitting to him, and returning to their Allegiance, when (they said) they could have better, or as good, Conditions from the Rebels of England; intimated, what a vast Sum of Money they had provided, near half a Million of English Pounds, besides several Magazines of Corn, with a fair Train of Artillery, great Quantity of Powder, Match, and Ammunition, with other Materials, for carrying on the War, and many other Particulars of that Nature, the monftrous Untruth whereof, doth sufficiently appear, in what hath been faid before; the Marquels having been forced to borrow those little Sums of Money out of the Pockets of his Friends, and to spend all that he tailed (upon the Sale of a good Quantity of his own Land, for the Support of his Wife and Children) to enable the Army to march, and which was never repaid

Untruth thereof.

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repaid to him, and the Magazine of Corn, Ammunition, and other Materials for War, being so absolutely unfurnished, that it was not possible for him to reduce those small Forts of Mary-borrow and Atby, held by Owen O Neal's Party, till he had by his own Power and Interest procured some Supplies, when he did Contract with a Merchant, and assigned all the King's Dues upon the Customs, and other Duties for his Payment for Arms, (and for which the Merchant remains still unsatisfied) to a great Value, so far were these Men from making that Provision they brag of.

What Conditions they might have had from the Rebels of England, may be concluded by the Usage they have since found, Divine Justice having made that bloody People more merciles towards those, (whose Frowardness, Obstinacy, and Treachery against the King's Authority contributed most to their Service) than against any who worthily opposed them, and were

most Enemies to their Proceedings.

They endeavoured by all imaginable Reproaches and Calumnies to lessen the People's Reverence towards the Lord Lieutenant, laying such Aspersions on him in the laid Declaration, as might most alienate their Assections, though themselves knew them to be untrue, and without Colour. They complained that he had given many Com-

Commissions for Collonels and other Commands, and upon them confumed the Substance of the Kingdom, who most betrayed or deferted the Service; whereas they well knew, there was not one Protestant Officer, to whom the Lord Lieutenant gave a Commission, who betrayed any Place committed to him, or was otherwise treated, in order to their Support, than all other Offcers of the fame Condition in the Army, nor did they quit the Service, until after many of them had gallantly loft their Lives, and that the Clergy had fo far incenfed the People against them, only for being Protestants, that the Marquels was compelled to give them Passes to depart the Kingdom, or otherwise to dispose of themselves; and the Rebels were glad to let them pass through their Quarters, or to remain in them, that thereby they might deprive the King of the only Strength they apprehended, the Officers being of fuch known Courage and Conduct.

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They accuse him of Improvidence in conducting the Army, after the Defeat at Rathmines, of not relieving Drogheda, of permitting Play, Drinking, and Licentiousness in the Camp, and as bold Aspersions as (without Excommunication) might gain Credit with the People, and reflect upon his Honour, where he was not enough known; whereas the Action of Rathmines, set down before

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before at large, and the taking of Drogbes da by Storm, when it was scarce apprehended, and it is notoriously known, that in his own Person he was so strict and vigilant, that he gave not himfelf leave to enjoy those Pleasures and Liberties which might very well have confifted with the Office and Duty of a most severe General; and that in above three Months Time (which at his first drawing the Forces to the Rendezvouz, till after the Misfortune at Rathmines) he never slept out of his Soldiers Habit; fo that the Malice and Craft of those unreasonable and senseless Calumnies, are easy enough to be discoverred, and can only make an Impression upon vulgar Minds, not informed enough of the Humqur and Spirit of the Contrivers.

They magnified exceedingly the Merit of the Prelates, the Declaration they had made at Clanmacnois, their frequent Expressions of their Sincerity and most blamed the Marquess for not making use of their Power and Diligence towards the advancing of the King's Interest, but rather for suspecting and blaming them by his Letter, to the Prelates at Jumes-Town, of the ad of August; (which is before remembred) and they said, that Words were heard to fall from him dangerous; as to the Persons of some Prelates; to all which little need be said, since there is be-

fore fo full and just mention of their fair Declaration and Profession, and their Actions which accompanied them ; and for the Danger fome Prelates were in, they will be alhamed tolurge, where it is known, that the Bishop of Killalow was brought to him in Custody, after they had figned this Declaration and Excommunication, and fet at Liberty by him and when the Bishops themselves, in their Letter to the Earl of Westmeath, Ido acknowledge to have been preferved by the Marquels, and for which many will rather expect an Apology, than for any Jealouly he could entertain of Persons, who behaved themselves in that manner towards the King's Lleureleast Minds, not informed chough transfer

They charged him with having represented to his Majesty, that some Parts of the Kingdom were disobedient, which absolutely denied any Disobedience by them committed, and that thereby he had procured from his Majesty, a Letter to withdraw his own Person, and the Royal Authority, if such Disobedience was multiplied, and so leave the People without the Benesit of the Peace; this was the Reward (they said) his Excellency, out of his Envy to that Catholick Loyal Nation, prepared for their Loyalty, sealed with the shedding of their Blood, and the Loss of their Substance.

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Whether the Obstinate and Rebellious Carriage of Waterford, and Lymerick, which brought Destruction upon themselves, did not deferve and require fuch a Representation to be made to the King, may be judged by all Men, upon what hath been before truly fet down of those Particulars, and if the Places themselves had not acknowledged those Acts of Disobedience, the Prelates had feemed to lament them, and most earnestly disswaded him from leaving the Kingdom, promiting all their Endeavours to reduce the People to Obediencess (which was only in their Power to have done.) After all which, meeting with so many repeated Slights and Affronts, the Marquels had been much to blame, longer to have exposed himself and his Honour to those Reproaches, and to have fuffered his Person with the important Name of the Lieutenant of Ireland to have remained in that Kingdom, and every Day to hear of the rendring and betraying of Places to the Rebels, which he could no more remedy, than he could infule a Spirit of Obedience, Unity and Understanding into that unhappy infatuated Nation; yet he was so far from wishing, that his Majesty should absolutely withdraw his Royal Authority from them (how unworthy foever they made themselves of it) that he always offered to leave the King's

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King's Power in the Marques of Clanic-kard, as he atterwards did, hoping that fince their great Exception to him, was for being a Protestant, they could with all Alacrity have complied with the other, who is known to be a most zealous koman Catholick, and whose Affection and Integrity to his Majesty was unquestionable.

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They reproached him, that while he was an Enemy to the Catholicks, he had been very active in unnatural Executions against them, and shedding the Blood of poor Priests and Churchmen: But that fince the Peace, he had shewed little of Action, and then kept himself in Connaught and Thomond, where no Danger was, and the Enemy appeared not, fo that they would neither fuffer him to have an Army to oppose the Rebels, nor be content that he should retire into those Places where the Enemy could least infest him, and from whence with those few Troops which remained with him, he defended the Shannon, and kept the Rebels from getting over the River, while he flayed there; and for the former Activity and Success against them, which they were content to impute to him. It was when he had a free Election of Officers, and an absolute Power over his Garrisons, where he caused the Soldiers continually to be exercifing their Arms, kept in Order; and from whence he could have drawn his Army

my together, and have marched with it to what Place he would, which Advantages he was now without, and the Rebels were possessed of: And therefore it was no wonder, that they now obtained their Victories eafily, as he had done formerly. But fince they were so disingenuous and ingrateful (there being many among them, whose Lives he had faved with apparent Danger to himself) to charge him with being active in unnatural Executions against them, and in shedding the Blood of poor Priests and Church-men; and for the Improvement and Propagation of Calumnies, it hath pleafed some Persons to cause that Declaration to be translated into Latin, and printed, thereby to make him odious to the Roman Catholicks, and have named two Priests (who they fay) were by his Order executed, and put to Death in cold Blood; and after his Promise to save their Lives, whose Names were Mr. Higgins and Mr. White: It will not be impertinent to fet down at large the Case of these two Persons, that from thence, Men who have no Mind to be deseived and misled may judge of the Candor and Sincerity of those Persons, who would obtrude fuch Calumnies to the World.

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It must therefore be known, that when those two Priests were put to Death, the War was conducted, and carried on by

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the Two Houses of Parliament, that the Government of Ireland was in the Hands of the Two Lords Justices, Parsons and Borlace, who upon the Cruelties first practifed by the Irifb Catholicks in the beginning of the Rebellion, had forbidden any Quarter to be given, and taken all the ways to incense the Soldiers against the Irish Nation, and principally against all Priests; and the Marquels of Ormond was only then Lieutenant General of the Army, and received all Orders from the Lords Justices, who were jealous of him, as a Person who dissembled his Devotion unto the King, and who were directed to watch his Actions as strictly, as if he had been their Enemy. At this time the Marques having Intelligence, that a Party of the Rebels intended to be at such a time at the Naas; he drew some Troops together with hope of furprizing them, and marching all Night, came early in the Morning into the Town, from which the Rebels upon Notice were newly fled; in the Town some of the Soldiers found Mr. Higgins, who might (its true) have as easily fled, if he had apprehended any Danger in the stay; when he was brought before the Marquels, he voluntarily acknowledged, that he was a Papist, and that his Residence was in the Town, from whence he refused to fly away with those that were guilty, because

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he not only knew himself very innocent. but believed that he should not be without ample Evidence of it, having by his fole Charity and Power preserved very many of the English Protestants from the Rage and Fury of the Irish; and therefore, he only belought the Marquess to preserve him from the Violence of the Soldiers, and to put him fecurely into Dublin, to be tried for any Crime, which the Marquess promised to do, and performed it, though with so much Hazard, that when it was ipread abroad among the Soldiers, that he was a Papist; the Officer into whose Custody he was intrusted, was affaulted by them, and it was as much as the Marquess could do to relieve him, and compole the Mutiny: When he came to Dublin, he informed the Lords Justices of the Prisoner he had brought with him, of the good Testimony he had received of his peaceable Carriage, of the Pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had Credit, from entring into Rebellion, and of very many charitable Offices he had performed, of which there wanted not Evidence enough, there being many then in Dublin, who owed their Lives, and whatfoever of their Fortunes were left, purely to him; so that he doubted not, he would be worthy of Protection; within a few Days after, when the Marquels did not inspect the poor Man's

Stance of glish Rebels.

being in Danger, he heard that Sir Churles Coote, who was Provoft Marshul General. the bloody had taken him out of Prison, and caused Disposition him to be put to death in the Morning, be of the En-fore, or as foon as as it was Light; of which Barbarity, the Lord Marquess complained to the Lords Justices, but was so far from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself to be upon some Disadvantage, for thinking the Proceeding to be other, than it ought to have been. This was the Cafe of Mr. Higgin, and this the Marquels his Part in it, and the poor Man was fo far from complaining of that breach of Promise at his Death (how confidently foever it may be averred) that he exceedingly acknowledged the Favour he had received from his Lordthip, prayed for his Prosperity, and lamented his want of Power, to do that which the World faw his Inclination prompted him to. The Proceedings against Mr. White was very different, and in this manner; The Marquess being upon the March with his Army, he quartered one Night at Clonie, (a House of the Earl of Westmeath's who was residing there with his Wife and Family) when he was at Supper many of the Officers being at the Table, the Lady of the House upon some whisper the received from a Servant, expressed some Trouble in her Countenance, which the Mais que s

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ques (who sate next her) perceiving, asked her what the Matter was, the told him in his Ear, that the was in great Apprehension for an honest Man who was in her House, and much feared the Soldiers, confessing, that he was a Priest. The Marquess replied, that if he was in the House, and kept himself there, he was in no Danger; for as the Soldiers would attempt nothing, while the Marquess stayed there, so he would leave a Guard at his Departure, that should secure it against Stragglers, or any Party that should stay behind; which he did accordingly. In the Morning, when he was ready to March, he received Information, That the Rebels were possessed of a Pass by which he was to go, whereupon he fent some Troops to get afore, Three Miles from the Way the Army was to March, and by that means to come upon the Rear of the Rebels by the time of the Army could come to the Pals; (which being done after a short Encounter in which many were killed) the Rebels were put to Flight, and the Pass gained. In this Action Mr. White was taken on Horseback with a Case of Pistols, who defired to be brought to the Marquels, which being done, he told him he was the Perion, for whom the Countess of Westmenth had defired his Favour the Day before, and that his Lordship had promised he should

be fate: The Marquess told him, that if he was the same Person, it was his own Fault that he was not fafe. If he had flayed in the House, this had not befall'n him, That it was not now in his Power to preferve him, himself being bound to observe those Orders which the Lords Justices had given him: Nevertheless he did endeavour to have faved him, at least, till he might be brought to Dublin: But the whole Army (which was possessed by the Parliament, and by the Lords Justices, with a very bitter Spirit against the Roman Catholick Clergy) mutiny'd upon it, and in the end, compelled the Marquess to leave him to that Justice, which they were authorized to execute, and so the Man was by them put to Death. Who can now, upon these two Instances, (and no other have been, or can be given) reasonably or honestly say, that the Marquess hath had his Hands defiled with the Blood of Priefts? And from the Time, that he had the chief Power committed to him, there was not only any Priest (how maliciously or treacherously soever they behaved themselves against the King's Service, or to the Perfon of the Lord Lieutenant) who fuffered Death; but all other Acts of Rage and Blood were declined, and discountenanced by him fed v. C. eds move Feld hemeb had

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Of the Affairs of Ireland. 219

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I shall pass over the many Tautologies, and impertinent Calumnies in the faid Declaracion. All which are sufficiently answered and cleared, by what is already contained in this Narrative; and shall only infert the Conclusion in their own Words, which are as followeth: " For the Preventi- of the De-" on of these Evils, and that the Kingdom claration. " may not be utterly loft to his Majesty, and his Catholick Subjects: This Congre-"gation of Archihops, Bishops, and other " Prelates, and Dignitaries of both Clergies " of this Kingdom, found our felves bound "in Conscience (after great Deliberation) " to declare against the Continuance of his " Majesty's Authority, in the Person of "the Lord Marquels of Ormand; having "by his Milgovernment, ill Conduct of "his Majesty's Army, and Breach of Faith " with the People, in several Particulars " of the Articles of Peace, render'd him-" felf incapable of continuing that great "Trust any longer, being questionable " before his Majesty, for the aforesaid In-" juries and ill Government (to which Ef-" fect, we will joyn with other Members " of this Kingdom, in drawing a Charge " against him) and We hereby manifest " unto the People, That they are no long-"er obliged to obey the Orders and Com-" mands of the said Marquess of Ormond, " but are, until a General Assembly of the

" Nation can be conveniently called together, unanimously to serve against the " Common Enemy, for the Defence of " Catholick Religion, his Majesty's Interest, " their Liberties, Lives and Fortunes: in " pursuance of the Oath of Association, " and to observe in the mean Time, the " Form of Government the faid Congre-" gation shall prescribe, until otherwise " ordered by an Assembly, or until, by ^{ef} Application to his Majesty, he settle the " fame otherwise. And we do fulminate the annexed Excommunication of one Date with this Declaration, against all Opposers

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of the faid Declaration.

It would probably appear as unnecessary, and might be thought an uncharitable Sharpness to inveigh against, or to observe by Gloss or Paraphrase the Logick, and unavoidable Consequence of the Doctrine, and particular Conclusion in this monstrous Declaration; fince all the fober Profesors of the Roman Catholick Religion abhorred it, as aiming at, and (indeed) affuming Jurisdiction, which the united Body of the Prelates and Clergy in no one Catholick Kingdom or Country in Christendom do pretend to have, and containing fuch Clauses, which by the established Laws of every Kingdom and Country in Christendom are manifestly treasonable; and it is much more requisite to vindicate the Marquess from the

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the very natural Imputation of Levity, and most supine Remissness of Government, for not chastising and suppressing that seditious Spirit in the Clergy, which from the very Conclusion of the Peace, perplexed and distracted him in whatsoever he went about, and infusing Jealousies and Distrusts into the Hearts of the People: And that he did not upon this last transcendent Treafon of the Bishops, seize upon their Persons, and proceed against them in an exemplary Way of Justice, at least that he did not apprehend the Ring-leaders of them, after they had published their wicked and rebellious Excommunication, and taken some sudden Vengeance upon them, by any Act of out-rage, when there was no Means for a formal Proceeding by the common Rules of Justice, before the Effects of their Prefumption should have been discerned, by the shrinking away and disbanding those few Troops, which then remained, and there is no doubt, but he will be thought by all, who are not enough acquainted with the Temper of that People, much more liable to Reproaches of that Kind, than the other of Rigour and Severity against the Roman Catholicks, of which he was not in the least degree guilty: But the Truth is, he will easily be ablolved from that Reprehension, by all who are fufficiently informed of the incredible and

and unreasonable Reverence, which the common People of the Nation pay their Clergy of what inferiour Rank foever, and that they have all their Directions and Determinations in that obscure Veneration; that when a Regiment hath been marching by the Orders of their General, a feditions Fryer hath put himselfinto the Hearl of them, taking the Colours in his Hand, and pronouncing Damnation to those who would prefume to march; whereupon, notwithstanding all the Commands of their Superior Officers (who though Roman Catbolicks) were for the most part scandalized at the Demeanour of the Clergy; all the Soldiers have thrown down their Arms, and departed to their several Habitations, as it fell out in an Expedition at Kilkenny.

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Nor was it possible for the Marquess to procure Justice to be inflicted in a Civil or Martial way upon an Ecclesiastical Person, let his Crime be what it would, since even those whose Zeal or Affection to his Majesty's Service was unquestionable, and who were as highly offended at the intollerable Carriage of the Proceeding of the Bishops and Clergy, as they ought to be, and whose Duty was not in the least Degree shaken by the Declaration and Excommunication, were yet so tender of those Immunities and Priviledges, which were said to belong to the Church, and so jean

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ealous of the Behaviour of the People in any Cafe, which should be declared a Violation of those Priviledges, that they would by no means have any Hand in inflicting capital Punishment on any Churchman, without the Approbation and Cooperation of the Bishops, who were not like to be to hard-hearted, as to confent to any Judgment upon the Accessories in thele Crimes, in which themselves were the Principals; so that he must not only have determined by his own single Will and Judgment, what was to be done in those Cases, but he must have executed these Determinations with his own Hand; and this Confideration obliged the Marquels to all those Condescensions and Sufferings, and upon all Occasions to endeavour to dispose, and disswade those Prelates from any obstinate and ruinous Resolutions, rather than to declare them to be Enemies, whom he could neither reform, nor punish.

The Excommunication was no sooner published by the Congregation, and consented to, and approved by the other Part of the Bishops and Clergy who were sitting at Gallway, but they quickly discern- The Confect of how imprudently, as well as unwar-quences of the mild rantably, they had proceeded in order to Proceedings their own Ends, and that they had taken of the Irish Care only to dissolve and disband the For-

ces,

ces, without making any kind of Provision for the Opposition of the Rebels, who had quickly Notice of their ridiculous Madness, and were thereupon advancing with their whole Power upon them; the People who generally forelaw, what must be the Issue of that Confusion, thought of nothing but compounding with the Kebels upon any Conditions; the Nobility, and principal Gentry, and the Commillioners of Truft, who saw the whole Power and Jurisdiction wrested from them, and assumed, and exercised by the Congregation, continued their Application to the Lord Lieutenant, to desire him not to leave them exposed to the Confusion which must attend his Departure. The gravest, most pious Spirits of the Clergy lamented the unskilful Spirits of the rest, and even some of the Bishops, and those who were present at the Congregation, and subscribed the Excommunication, disclaimed their having confented to it, though they were obliged to fign it for Conformity; fo that they found it necessary within less than three Days, to fuspend that dreadful Sentence; and yet that it might appear, how unwillingly they did those Ads of Gentleness and Sobriety, it will not be amiss to set down the Letter it felf, which the Titular Bishop of Clonfort, and Dr. Charles Kelly wrote to the Officers of the Army under the Command

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of the Lord Marquels of Clanrickard, to that Purpole, which was in these Words,

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Efterday we received an Express Letter to from the rest of our Congrega- suspend the " tion at Gallway bearing this Sense, to nication. " fuspend the Effect of the Excommuni-" cation proclaimed by their Order, till " the Service of Athlone be performed, " fearing on the one fide, a dispersing of " the Army; and on the other, having " received certain Intelligence of the " Enemies approach to that Place, with "their Force and Number of fighting "Men; and thereupon would have us " concur with them, in suspending the said " Excommunication; As for our Parts, "We judge that Sufpension unnecessary " and full of Inconvenience, which we ap-" prehend may enfue, because the Excom-" munication may be obeyed, and the Ser-" vice not neglected, if the People were " pleafed to undertake the Service in the "Clergy's Name, without relating to the " Lord of Ormand, or any that may take " his Part; yet fearing the Cenfure of fin-" gularity in a Matter against Us, or to be deemed forwarder in excommunicating " than others: Also fearing the Weakness " of some (which we believe the Congre-" gation feared) we are pleased to follow "the Major Vote, and against our own « Opinion

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"Opinion concur with them; and do hereby suspend the said Censure as a bove; provided always, that after the

"Service performed, or the Service be thought unnecessary by the Clergy, or

thought unnecessary by the Clergy, or when the faid Clergy shall renew it, it

" suspension had never been interposed,

" and so we remain,

Corbie, Sept.

Your assured Loving

Friends in Christ,

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Walter Bishop of Clonfert. Charles Kelly.

If these authentick Truths (whereof there is not room for the least doubt) were not inserted, who could believe it possible, that Men indued with common Understanding, and professing the Doctrine of Christianity and Allegiance of Subjects, could upon Deliberation publish such Devices? And who can wonder, that a People inflaved to, and conducted by fuch spiritual Leaders, should become a Prey to an Enemy, though supplied with less Power, Vigilance, and Dexterity, than those prosperous Rebels always were; who have prevailed against them, and who by all kind of Reproaches, Rigour and Tyranny, have

have made that unhappy Congregation pay dear Interest for the Contempt and Indignity, with which they profecuted their Sove-

reign, and his Authority.

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Though most of the Commissioners of The King Trust, and the principal Nobility, and the forced to most considerable Gentry, remained in their gave Counparticular Affection and Resolution, firm tenance to and unshaken in their Devotion to the this Beba-King, and in their Submission to the Au-Irish Prethority of his Lieutenant; (notwithstanding lates. the Declaration and Excommunication,) yet there fell out an unhappy Accident, which in this Juncture seemed to give some Countenance, and did procure fuch Submillion to that extravagant Behaviour of the Clergy. The King was in Scotland, and was about that Time by the Force and Rigour of the Party, which was then poffeffed of the whole Power in the Kingdom absolutely forced to consent; that is, to set his Hand to several Papers, which were proposed and brought to him, and without the doing whereof, he was plainly told, he hould have no Power or Authority over the People, not without Implication erough, that his Person would not long remain at Liberty, and they, who would have opposed those Proceedings both for Matter and Manner, if they had been able, were as importunate with his Majesty to redeem himself from the Mischiefs which Q 2 threat-

threatned him, by complying with what he could not controll as the only Means to recover that Power which was usuped from him, and which indeed he did in a fhort time reduce to the proper Channel. Amongst the Papers so obtained as aforefaid, There was a Declaration in his Majefty's Name, by which the Peace concluded with the Irish Catholicks in the Year, 1648. by Authority of the late King of ever glorious Memory, and confirmed by his Majesty who now Reigns, was pronounced and adjudged void, and that his Majesty was absolved from any Observation of it; and this not grounded on those particular Breaches, Violations and Affronts, which had been offered to his Majesty's Authority, and contrary to the express Articles, Provisoes, and Promises of that Treaty of Peace; but upon the supposed unlawfulness of concluding any Peace with those Persons, who were branded with many ignominious Reproaches. Albeit, this Declaration issued (in Point of time) in Scotland, after the Excommunication at James-Town, yet the Notice of it came to near the Time of the Publication of the other, that the Clergy inferted it in their Declaration, as if it had been one of the principal Causes and Foundations of the Excommunication, and depriving his Majefty of his Authority, and the Affections of all the People, who were concerned in Interest -Juenti

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Interest to have the Peace observed (which they looked upon, as the only Foundation of Security for the Nation, and their particular Fortunes) and were willing to hearken to any Councils, which were most like to provide, that the Peace should be made effectual and valid to them.

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When the Marquels first heard mention conduct of of the Declaration in Scotland, he did real-the Marly believe it a Forgery, contrived either King's for-by the English Rebels, or the Irish Congrega-ved Decla-ration.

tion, to seduce the People from their Affetion and Loyalty to the King; but when

loon after, he was affured what Condition his Majesty was in, and that in Truth such a Declaration was published in his Name, he

immediately iffued his Order, for a Meeting of an Assembly at Logbreagh on the

15th of November; and in the mean time on the 2d of October, for the better com-

poling the Minds of Men, and preventing

those Distempers (which might be infused)

he wrote to the Commissioners of Trust,

and took Notice of that Declaration, which was published in Scotland, and told them;

"That however the Affronts put upon his to the Com-

" Majesty had been many, and were ob-missioners of " stinately persisted in to that Day, and in Trust.

" fuch Places, whereupon evidently de-

" pended the Preservation or Loss of the " whole Kingdom, whereof he had several

"Times given Notice unto them, and fol-

" lowed

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" lowed the ways advised by them, for " reclaiming the faid Places without Success; yet considering, the Declaration " gained from his Majesty was without what could be faid by the Nation in their own Defence, and such as involved it, generally without Exception, in the guilt of Rebellion: He thought fit to let them know, that fince the faid Declaration " was by undue Means obtained from his " Majefly, he was resolved by all the " Means, it should please God to offer to " him, and through all Hazards in the be-" half of the Nation to infift upon, and " affert, the Lawfulness of the Conclusion " of that Peace, by Virtue of the afore-" faid Authority; and that the faid Peace was still valid and binding unto his Majesty, and all his Subjects: And herein " he told them, he was resolved by the " Help of God to perfift, until both him-" felf, and fuch as should in that behalf be " intrusted and authorized by the Nation, " should have free and safe Access to his " Majesty; and until, upon mature and " unrestrained Consideration, on what might on all fides be faid, his Majesty " should have declared his Royal Pleasure " upon those Affronts, that had been put " upon his Authority; provided, that up-" on this Engagement of his, First, That " all the Acts, Declarations, and Excommunication,

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" munication, iffued by the Bilhops against "his Authority, and the Peoples giving "Obedience thereunto, should be by them " revoked, and fuch Affurance given as " should be agreed by him, and the Com-" missioners of Trust, that they, nor a-" ny of them, should attempt the like for " the Future, and that they should contain " themselves within the Bounds prescribed " by the Articles of Peace, whereto they "were Parties. Secondly, That it should " immediately be declared by the Commil-" sioners of Trust, that the said Declara-"tion, and Excommunication, and other " Proceedings of the faid Bishops, was an "unwarrantable Usurpation upon his Ma-" jesty's Authority, and in them a Violati-" on of the Peace; and that in Case, the "Bishops should not give the Assurance " before exprest, or having given it, should " not observe the same; that they would " endeavour to bring the Offenders to " condign Punishment, pursuant to, and " as is prescribed, by the Laws of the King-"dom. Thirdly, That the like Declaration " should be made, from all that drew Au-" thority from his Majesty, Civil or Mar-" tial, and by the respective Mayors, Aldermen, Common Council Men, Burgelles, and other Magistrates in the Corporations of the Kingdom. Fourthly, That the Lord Lieutenant should be Q 4

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permitted to make his free and fafe Refidence in any Place, he should choose within the Limits not possest by the Rebels. Fifthly, That he should be immediately suffered to put Garrisons in all fuch Places, and in fuch manner, according to the Articles of Peace, as he should find necessary for the Defence of the " Kingdom. In the last Place, He wished then, that some Course might be taken for his Support in some Proportion answerable to his Place, yet with regard " to the State of the Kingdom, which last " he faid he should not propose, but that " he was deprived of all his own Fortunes, " whereupon he had wholly subsisted ever

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Answer of the Commiffioners.

" fince his coming into the Kingdom. The Commissioners of Trust received His Letter with all Demonstration of Respect and Satisfaction, and the very next Day returned him an Answer, in which after they had lamented the iffuing out of this Proclamation in Scotland; " They faid, it greatly comforted them to understand, that his Excellency was refolved, through all Hazards, in behalf of the Nation, to infift upon, and to affert the Peace, and persist in so doing until he or such as should be intrusted and authorized by " the Nation, should have free and safe Access to his Majesty, and to those Propositions, which were exprest as necessacc ry

" ry Conditions for the Continuance of his "Majesty's Authority among them. Which "they said they did (notwithstanding the said Declaration) still Embrace and Re"verence; beside their general Profession "to Act, what lay within their Power, in the ways of his Majesty's Service, and to the Satisfaction of his Lieutenant, "they returned these ensuing Answers,

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As to the First, Concerning the Revocation of the Acts, Declarations, and Excommunication, iffued by the Bishops, and Affurance demanded, that nothing of that kind should be attempted for the Future. They faid, "That his Excellency (to whom " they had often exprest their Resentment " of fuch their Proceedings) might be con-"fident, they would labour as far as in "them lay to fee his Majesty satisfied in " that particular; and to that End, they " would all, or some of them, with his " Allowance, as he should think fit, repair " to Gallway, to treat with the Prelates "upon that Subject. Unto the Second they answered, "That albeit they knew, " that by the Censures of the Bishops, his " Majesty's Authority was invaded, and " an unwarranted Government let up con-" trary to the Laws of the Kingdom; and " that they were affured, no Subject could " be justly warranted to deny Obedience "to his Majesty's Authority in his Excel-

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" lency: Yet being of Opinion, That a " publick Declaration of that kind in that " juncture of Affairs, ought properly (and " would with more Countenance and Au-"thority) move from an Affembly than " from them, and that from such publick " Declarations at that Time from them-" felves, they should obstruct the way to " prevail with the Prelates to withdraw "those Censures or Acts, which was desi-" red by the former Proposition; and like-" wife endanger the Union that was necel-" fary at prefent, in opposing the common "Enemy, and prejudice the Hope of a "more perfect Union for the Future; " wherein the Preservation of the Mation " would principally confift. They did "therefore humbly befeech his Excellency, of to call an Affembly of the Nation, from "whom such a Declaration as might be " effectual in that behalf, and might fettle " those Distractions, could only proceed; " yet if in the mean time, and before the " Meeting of that Affembly, those Cen-" fures then fulpended should be revived; " they would endeavour to suppress their "Influence upon the People by fuch a "Declaration, as should become Loyal "Subjects, and Men intrufted to fee all " due Obedience paid to his Majesty's Go-" vernment over the whole Kingdom. To the Third they answered, "That they " would

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" would at all Times, and in fuch man-" ner as his Excellency should think fit to " prescribe, invite all his Majesty's Ro-" man Catholick Subjects to Such a De-" claration, which yet (until they should " understand the Clergy's Sense upon the " first Proposition) they did humbly repre-" fent as fit, for a Time to forbear. To the Fourth, they answered, "That what-" soever his Excellency should find to be " within their Power, and would direct " to be done, concerning his Place of Re-" sidence for his Person, they would rea-" dily obey his Lordinip's Commands "therein. Fifthly, They answered, "That " upon Conference with his Excellency of " the Places fit to be garrifoned, and the " Number of Men fit to be put in them: " They would, according to the Articles " of Peace, use their utmost endeavours have fuch Garrisons, so agreed, admitted. And to the Last, they said, " They had at all Times been ready and " willing, that his Excellency's Charge " should be supported out of the Revenue " of the Kingdom, and that they were " now ready to concur in affigning any of the Dues already accrued, or fuch as " should grow due hereafter, or to impose " any new Allotment upon the Subject to-" wards his Maintenance.

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When the Lord Lieutenant perceived. that the Temper of the Commissioners of Trust was so different from that of the Congregation, and that in Truth, they were afflicted and scandalized at the Exorbitancy of the other, and that they thought they should be able to reduce them from the destructive Counsels they were engaged in; he would inot upon any Experience or Judgment of his own, restrain them from attempting what was not impossible to compais, and which many concluded would have been compaffed, if attempted; and which, what other Effect foever it had, would make it evident, that there was not a Concurrence of the Nation in those Acts, which were likely to destroy the Kingdom. And therefore, he willingly consented, that the Commissioners should go to Gallway, where the Committee of the Congregation relided, whereof the Bilhop of Ferner was one. To whom they shewed the Letter received from the Lord Lieutenant, and defired them to confider the State of the Kingdom; and to know from them, what they conceived remaining, that might tend best to the Preservation of the Nation

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what they conceived remaining, that might commission tend best to the Preservation of the Nation Trust, ex and themselves: They told them, that possible the no Union could be had for the Preservation of the Nation, without keeping the of the Con-King's Authority amongst them, for that gregation many of the most considerable would intented.

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stantly make their Conditions with the Enemy, if the King's Authority were taken away; and that there was no hope of keeping or leaving that Authority, but by revoking the Excommunication and Declaration; for the Lord Lieutenant would not stay to keep it, nor would he leave it; nor the Marquess of Clamickard undergo it. But upon those Terms; Whereupon they used all those Reasons and Arguments, which cannot but occur to all Men, who are not blinded with Passion and Prejudice, to reduce them to such a Retraction, as could only advance the Happiness, or indeed the Subsistance of the Nation.

But the Roman Catholick Bishops were Their Aninexorable, and instead of abating any Gommission of that Fury they had formerly express'd, ners of they added new Contumelies and Re-Trust. proaches to all the Authority of the King. They faid, "They observed by the Lord "Lieutenant's Letter, that he informed his " Majesty of Disobedience and Affronts, " that had been put upon his Authority; and " consequently, that he had suggested Mat-"ter unto his Majesty, for making that "Declaration which had been published " in Scotland, disowning the Peace; and " that they were of Opinion, for ought ap-" peared unto them, that the King had "withdrawn his Commission and Autho-" rity from the Lord Lieutenant. That cc in

An HISTORICAL VIEW

" in the faid Declaration, the Irifb Nation " (as bloody Rebels) were cast from the " Protection of the King's Laws, and Roy-" ale Favour; and therefore it might be pre-" fumed, that he would not have his Authority kept over fuch a Nation, to govern them. That they had been of Opi-" mion, and all their Endeavours had been " imployed to keep the King's Authority over them; but when his Majesty throws cc away the Nation, as Rebels from his cc Protection, withdrawing his own Authoce rity, they could not understand the My-" flery of preferving the fame with them, " nor how it could be done. That they " believed the beft remedy (the King's " Authority being taken away by that De-" claration) of meeting the Inconvenience " of the People's closing with the Parlia-" ment, is the returning to the Confede-" racy, as they faid was intended by the cc Nation, in Case of the breach of Peace " on his Majesty's Part. This they faid " would keep an Union among them, if " Men would not be pracipitously guilty " of the breach of the Oath of Affociation, " which Oath by two folemn Orders of " two feveral Assemblies, was to continue " binding, if any breach of the Articles of " Peace should happen on his Majesty's " Part: That the King's Authority and the " Lord Lieutenants Commission being re-« called

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" called by that Declaration; they were of Opinion, that the Lord Lieutenant " had no Authority to leave, and if they " must expose their Lives and Fortunes to " the hazard of Fighting, to the making "good that Peace, seeing the Danger was "alike to defend that, or get a better "Peace; why should they bind them-" selves within the Limits of those Arti-"cles fo disowned. And so with several Tautologies urged the Declaration in Stotland, as a ground and excuse for all their Proceedings, when what they had done, was before the iffuing of any fuch Declaration. They concluded, " They " could not consent with safety of Consci-"ence to the revoking their Declaration " and Excommunication, as demanded by " the Lord Lieutenant, nor to give Affu-" rance to him, or the Commillioners of "Trust, for not attempting the like for the Future.

They would not make this Declaration in a Case of Conscience, of so vast an Extent and Importance, without setting down their Reasons under their Hands, which it would not be reasonable (for the Doctrines sake) to conceal from the World, that it may better Judge of those Spiritual Guides (for I do heartily wish, that the Conclusions which were made, and the Ruin that followed from thence,

may

An HISTORICAL VIEW

may not at any Time reflect, to the Pre-judice of more than the particular Perfons, who made themselves guilty of that Mais of Mischief, and towards whom I

fhall not labour in an Apology.)

1. The first Reason was, Because the King's Authority was not in the Lord Lieutenant, nor was then in them (they faid) Power to confer a new Authority on which would be destructive to the Nation, if it continued in him, and was like to prove a Preservative, if in another, and that they faid was their Sense, when they declared against the Authority in his Person. So that though they had Presumption to take the King's Authority out of his Lieutenant's Hand, by their Declaration and Excommunication, and to inhibit all Men to submit to it, they had now the Modesty to confess, they had not Power to confer any new Authority on him, their Faculty of destroying, was better than that of preferving.

2. Their Second was, They feared they should lose the few Churches remaining under his Government, as they had loft under him all the Churches of Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford, and the rest, in which same (they said) they agreed with the Maccabees, to m Maximus & primus pro sanctitate Timor erat gion, Templi. By whose ill Government those ness Cities were lost, appears by what hath ment

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been faid before, and how well the few that were then left were kept after they had forced the Marquess to depart the Kingdom, it is too well known unto the World.

3. The third Reason they thought fit to offer, was, because the Lord Lieutenant had declared at Cork, that he would maintain, during his Life, the Protestant Religion acording to the Example of the best reformd Churches, which might be the same with the Covenant for ought they knew, they faid they would not expect from him the Defence of the Catholick Religion; which was a strange Objection against a Protefant Lieutenant of a Protestant King, der whose Government they pretended to be defirous to live; and whatfoever had been declared by the Lord Lieutenant at Cork in that Particular, was before the Condusion of the Treaty of Peace, and publihed and printed, and well known to the Bishops, who after the same, (notwithstanding that Declaration,) with all the Demontrations of Cheerfulness gave their Consent to that Peace, which they now think fit to lost break because of that Declaration.

4. The fourth Reason was cast in the hich same Mould, the Scandal over the World, to make choice of one of a different Relierat gion, especially in Rome, where his Holi-hose sels expected that a Catholick Governhath ment should be placed over them; and they

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faid they did fear the Scourges of War and Plague, that were fallen so heavy upon them, were some Evidence of God's Anger, for putting God's Cause and the Churches under fuch Hands: Whereas that Trust might have been managed in a Catholick Hand under the King's Authority, which Reason had indeed most Ingenuity in it; and whenever they digested their Malice and their Prejudice in those personal Reproaches and Calumnies which they know to be most untrue. If they had frankly declared and excepted against him for being a Protestant, they had more complied with the Dictates and Integrity of their Hearts; and yet it might appear a very unskilful and imprudent Suggestion, to make the Humour of the Court of Rome the Rule of Obedience to their Sovereign, and to discourse of choosing a Person of what Religion they thought fit to be his Vicegerent, as if they thought they, not he, were to be confulted; which would administer more Cause of Jealousy of a Prote-stant King unto his Protestant Subjects, if it were not as much known to them, that the whole Catholick Nobility and Gentry of the Nation were Enemies to those Refolutions which that unhappy Part of the Catholick Bishops did broach and propagate; that new destructive Doctrine, which alone

alone hath reduced that Nation to the Ca-

limities it now undergoes.

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Ind no Favour or Countenance, but Reproach and Dilgrace, from any Catholick Prince, Church, or Laity, while the Marquels governed, when in truth, fince that time that their Proceedings have been taken notice of, the Catholick Princes have looked upon them as uncapable of any succour or Countenance, and have accordingly left them to the Rage and Rapine of their merciless Persecutors.

Their other Reasons were more vulgar, and too oft before recited; Exceptions to his Person, in respect of the ill Success of his Conduct, and the Prejudice the People had to him in regard of the same; and the two considerable Corporations remaining (which were Lymerick and Gallway) were at so great distance with the Lord Lieutemant, that they were thought to be resolved to appear (as in their Intentions and Actions they conceived they were) faithful to the Crown, and obedient to the King's Authority, if placed in another Person.

To which Suggestions nothing need be added to what hath been said in this Discourse of the Demeanor of those particular Places; nor can the Observation be avoided, that it was the natural Practice of this Congregation to use all their Industry and Ar-

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tifice to infule Jealousy and Sedition into the People, Distrust and Obstinacy into the Corporations, and then to urge that Jealouly, Prejudice, and Indisposition of the People and Corporations to countenance any thing that they thought fit to do, or to oppose. They concluded, that the Event of War being uncertain, if the Nation should be reduced into a Condition of agreeing with the Enemy, the Lord Lieutenant would not be a fit Man to agree for the Exercise of their Religion, for their Churches, Altars, or any thing concerning the same: And therefore they faid, that the best way that occurred to them in this pressing Exigency for the Union of the Nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the Enemy, was, that the Marquels of Clanrickard (in whom, according to the Sense of the Congregation at Jamestowne, they defired the King's Authority might be left) might govern the Nation with Confent of all Parties, and the King's Authority be taken from the Lord Lieutenant until an Alfembly; and to that End, that a free and lawful Assembly might be made to sit and judge upon the People's Prefervation, and to decree and order what should be best and fafest for the Defence of the Nation, and touching the King's Authority to be kept over them, and the Peace to be alferted and made good, or to renew the Affociation,

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Affociation, or any thing elfe they should and best and most expedient, and unto that they would most willingly submit; for (they faid) they never intended to hinder an Assembly, or to give Laws to the People: All that they endeavoured, was, to defend the Altar and Souls entrusted to them; and as they were of Opinion that the Soldiers would follow the Marquels of Clarrickard, and the People obey him, fo they would contribute their best Endearours to that Effect. They farther gave Affurance, that if any free and lawful Aflembly, upon due Consideration of their State and Condition, should find it the best way, for their own Safety and Preservation, to make an Agreement with the Enemy, as they intended never, by the Grace of God, to grant away from them by an Affirmative Consent, the Churches (if forced from them they were blameless) so would they not hinder the People from compounding with the Enemy for the Safety of their Lives and Estates, when no way of Defence was appearing, though upon fuch an Agreement they saw, that they alone hould probably be Loosers of Lives, Elates, Churches, Altars, Immunities and Liberties; but in fuch Contracts with the Enemy, if any should happen, (which they wished God would avert) they should pray and conjure the Catholicks of Ireland, that R 3

that of Maccabees might be recorded of them to future Ages: Erat pro uxoribus, of filiis, pro fratribus & cognatis minor folicitude maximus vero, & primus, pro sanctitate era

Timor Templi.

And this was the Answer delivered the Commissioners of Trust upon the st of November 1650, at Gallway, by the tular Bishops of Killalab, Fernes, Kilm dough, Kilfinorah and Dromore, after few ral and long Conferences with the Con missioners of Trust, who were entrusted i the Nation upon the Proposals made by Lord Lieutenant and the before recit Commissioners. At the Conference bei likewise Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Richard Bar wall, Sir Richard Everard, Mr. Richard Beling, Mr. Jeffery Brown, and Dr. Fenne all eminent Persons in their Fortunes an Interests, and in the Trust and Confidence of the Confederate Catholicks. I take ver much Pleasure in remembring (which make me say it on all Occasions, to prevent the usual Prejudice which is too trequently le loose upon whole Nations, Communities and Professions, for the Guilt and Errors of particular Persons, Officers and Profes fors) that not only the whole Nobility and Gentry of Fortune and Interest, some very few excepted, but many learned and pious Men of the fecular and regular Clergy, and even some of their Bishops, did abbor and abominate

the Proceedings of this Le prote Pleature in remembring in inferting such incredible Asion ness and Differences and making the deleved Reflections on that un unprelimical, uncatholick Cong which can never be look'd upon wife Men of any Protession as con-fa grave Temper, or loyal Persons, factions, talk, violent and diffoyal fembled without Authority, tran-with Spleen, Arrogance and Ambi-iking Advantage of the in sking Advantage of the ill Success themselves were guilty, as the uels had faid in his Letter of the 2d of her, which he left to the Affembly breakh when he left the Kingdom; of Letten, if an exact Copy could have somen, this Discourse would have been els, there being so ample a Vindicaof whatfoever was or could be faid ahim in the other: Nor can any Man observing, by the express Words of Conclusion, upon the Realons in their creace with the Commissioners. That they feemed to defire that the Marquels

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orthogonal with the Zight to the state of the restrict of the publication with the Cool Parties, and that the King's And Tries and that the King's And the Lord Lieutenant magnet be less yet they declared they meant is the ly be until an Affenday (which is knew by the expirit Terms of the of Peace could be only lawfully by the Lord Lieutenane) and these fembly thould judge of the People vation, and to decree and order with the best and lafest for the Deten Nation, the Peace to be afferted a good, or to renew the Affociation good, or to renew the Affociation

Expedient; to that they intended. Honour to the Marquels of Countenance and than that by his Countenance and tion they might perfusive the Letterant to leave the King's Author him, and that he should call an a (which they would otherwise telves) and which they were furctionally as would follow their Distances.

as would follow their Dictates, himself thould be divested of the and the King depoted from any farminion over their, when they o

e any Foreign Prince to take them into rotection, which Practice they quickly n. Foot afterwards, and for the further ifestation of their Affection and Loyto the King, which they cannot indure ld yet be called in Question : It is obserthat those Men who had so often conded and controlled the express Acts of Affembly, that had been convened the beginning of the Troubles, and commanded the People under pain amnation, not to any Obedience to King's Authority in his Lieutenant; declared, that they could not with y of their Consciences consent he Propositions which he had lately e for the uniting of the Nation, in nce of the Peace fo advantageous heir Liberty and Religion, which the missioners intrusted by and for the ion thought so reasonable; these Men, y, made no scruple of professing and aring, that if an Affembly upon due afideration of their Estate and Conditishould find it the best way for their ty and Preservation, to make an Ament with the Enemy (the Rebels England, who had murthered their Sovereign with those inhumane Ciroffances, and profest the Extirpation of Religion and Nation, and had mafed, and reproachfully executed fo ma-

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ny of their Bishops and Clergy in cold Blood) they could not hinder the People from compounding with them, for the fafe. ty of their Lives and Estates; which being feriously considered, we cannot sufficiently wonder at the strange stupid Resignation of their Understandings, who believed, or rather at the wonderful Contempt of those Understandings, in those who could perswade them to believe, that this Congregation had Loyal Purpoles toward the King, or that they never intended to hinder the Assembly, or give Law to the People, when they cancelled all fundamental Laws, broke through all Acts of their own Affembly, and forbad the People to pay any Obedience to the King's Lieutenant, who had only the lawful Power of Government over them, the more extravagant and unreasonable these Proceedings were of the Congregation and Clergy, the more confident many honest and wise Men were, that an Assembly of the Nation would regulate and controul that unlimited Power, and utterly disavow all that they had done: And therefore, they that they were exceedingly offended and inraged against the Congregation, were as soliciand tous and importunate with the Lord Lieution tenant to call an Affembly, and though he Libe had too much Experience of the Nature and Temper of the People, and of the not Tranold

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Transcendent Power the Clergy, would still have over any Assembly (or at least over the People, when the Assembly had done what it could) to hope for any good Effect from it; and though he law he should thereby the more expose his own Honour, and (which he confidered much more) the Dignity of his Master to new Infolencies, yet fince he refolved to leave distant. the Kingdom himself, and was unresolved NY 134210 whether he should leave the King's Auis tunnet thority behind him liable to the same Inof sule! dignities and Affronts in the Person of Bittle William the Marquels of Clamickard, which it a trodsing had been subject to in his own, and could have no kind of Assurance, that it should not, but by the Profession and Lord Lies-Protestation of an Assembly, he did resolve tenant calls to call one, and issued out his Letters to that by at Purpole for meeting the 15th of November Loghat Logbreagh, where they met accordingly, reagh. and the Bishops for removing (as they said) of any Jealousies, that any might apprehend of their Proceedings, declared and pro-Protofiatitested, That by their Excommunication and Bishops. Declaration at James Town in August last, they had no other aim than the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, and the People, and they did not purpose to make any Usurpation on his Majesty's Authority, nor on the Liberty of the People; confessing, That it did not belong to their Jurisdiction so to do; with

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with which Protestation (fo contrary to what they had done, and which in Truth The Affem-they had so often made; when even at the bly fatisfied fame Time they did all Things contrary to zberewith. it) the Affembly was fatisfied, and did not for much as make another Protestation, That the Bishops had done what they ought not to do, nor exacted a Promile from them, that they would not do the

Which folve to leave the Kingdom without a Deputy.

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Lord Lien-like in Time to come. So that the Lord tenant re- Lieutenant was resolved to look no more for Satisfaction from them, nor expose the King's Authority further by leaving any Deputy behind him, but prepared the best he could to depart the Kingdom, a small

When the Assembly understood his Re-

Frigot attending for that Service.

folution, and faw plainly that he was ready to depart, his Goods and many of his Servants being on Board, they fent four of the Members of their House to him, with an Instrument in Writing, in which they repeated the Declaration and Protestation made by the Bishops mentioned be-Affemblyte fore, upon Consideration of which, and their Professions to that Purpose in the As-Lieutenant sembly, and of his Excellency's Letter dated the 16th of November last, recommending to them as the chief End, for which the Affembly was called, the removing of all Divisions as the best Way to their Preservation; they faid, that the Lords Spiritual and

Letter from the the Lord on that Re-Solution.

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Temporal, and the Gentry met in that Affembly, conceived, That there was not a betper Foundation or Ground for their Union, than their holding to, and obeying his Majesty's Authority, to which they owned, and ought to pay all dutiful Obedience; and they did thereby declare and protest, that their Allegiance unto his Majesty's Authority was such, and so inherent in them, that they could not be withdrawn from the same; nor was there any Power in the Lords Spiritual or Temporal, Gentry or People, Clergy or Laity of the Kingdom, that could alter or change, or take away his Majesty's Authority; they holding that to be the chiefest Flower of the Crown, and the Support of the Peoples Liberties, which they did thereby Declare, Protest and Avow, and that they did Esteem the same, and Obedience thereunto, effentially, inviolably, and justy due from them, and the chiefest means under God to uphold their Union and Preservation; to which they said, he had relation of highest Concernment in Blood, Alliance and Interest to leave that Authority with them, in some Person faithful to his Majesty and acceptable to the Nation; to which Person, when he should be made known unto them, they would not only afford all due Obedience, but would also offer and propose the best Ways and Means, that God would please to direct them to for the Preservation of his Majesty's Rights, and the Peoples Interest, and Liberty, and

and for the begetting a ready Obedience in all Places and Persons unto his Majesty's Authole

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This Advice, though it carried with it a particular Respect from the Assembly to the Lord Lieutenant, and an Acknowledgment of the faithful and hearty Affection, he had always had for his Majesty's Interest and Service in that Kingdom, contrary to that scandalous Declaration, gave not the Marquess the least Confidence, that his Majesty's Authority, would find more Respect in the Person of another, than it had met with in him; therefore he wrote to them by the fame

Benant's Answer .

Lord Lieu. Messenger. That he had fent the Authority to the Lord Marquess of Clanrickard to govern, that his Majesty's Kingdom and People; provided, that the Declaration might be so far explained, as to give the Marquess of Clanrickard full Satisfaction, that the Expression they made, touching the Obedience they owned, and resolved to pay unto his Majefty's Authority, was meant the Authority placed in his Lordship, or any other Governour deriving or bolding his Authority from his Majesty, and that they esteemed it not in the Power of any Person, Congregation, or Assembly whatsoever, to discharge or set the People free from obeying his Lordship, or any other such Governour, during the Continuance of the faid Authority in him, without which (he said) he could not (in Duty to his Majesty) leave

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leave the Authority subject to be tossed to and fro at the uncertain fancy of any Man or Men, without any Probability of Saving the Nation, which could no otherwise be effected, than by an absolute chearful Obedience in the People, unto the Authority placed over them, &c. And lo having directed the Marquels of Clan- the Mara rickard (who submitted to the Charge out quest of of pure Obedience, and only that he might Clanricnot decline what, they would fay, might have preserved the Nation) not to assume the Charge, unless the Assembly gave him full Satisfaction in the Particulars required by them, The Lord Lieutenant about Leaves the middle of December, 1650. imbarqued Ireland. himself in a small Vessel for France, after he had refused to receive a Pass from Ireton, who offered it; choosing rather to trust the Seas and Winds in that rough and boisterous Season of the Year, than to receive an Obligation from the Rebels; and lo having been toffed at Sea, for the space of some Weeks, and his other Ships in which his Servants and Goods, and many other Persons perished, being lost in the And Lands Storm, himself arrived in France. in France

If the end of this Discourse were only to vindicate the Marquels of Ormond, from those loose Reproaches and groundless Calumnies with which bold Writers have endeavoured to asperse him; it might be very well concluded hereaster, it hath clearly in-

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stanced the insupportable Wants, Weak-nesses and Distractions he was to struggle with, even from the first Minute of the Conclusion of Peace, and when he feemed to be attended with the most Success, and so fully in Power. The vast Supplies, Wealth, Power, and (which makes the rest Superior to the greatest and most difficult Defigns) the Union of the most prosperous Rebels; and on the other fide, the Weaknels, Poverty and Unskilfulnels of the Irifle, their want of Money, of Arms, Victuals, Officers, and of Discipline, which would make any Plenty unfuccefsful; the abundant want of Union, Direction and Obedience to the Superiour Commander; the Rebellion of the incorporate Towns against all Commands, and Orders of the King's Lieutenant; and laftly, The Extravagant and Unlimited Power of the most illiterate, and worst affected Party of the Clergy over the Consciences and Understandings of the People: I say, all these Particulars being fo undeniably evinced, the World (at least the fober Part of it) will be very eafily fatisfied: That the Marquess of Ormond discharged the Office of a wife, vigilant, and excellent Commander, with the greatest Constancy, Courage and Integrity imaginable, and that none of the Calamities under which that unhappy Nation lies at present oppressed

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and broken, can be put upon his Accompt: But fince there was, and is still, so much Profession of Duty and Obedience to the King's Authority, and all the Miscarriages and Misfortunes imputed to the Prejudice, that attended the Person of the Marquess of Ormond; and that the Prejudice to his Person proceeded from his Religion, being no Roman Catholick. It will not be an impertinent or unprofitable expence of Time, to take a view of the Ways, which were taken to preserve the Nation, to advance the King's Service, and the Obedience that was paid to his Majesty's Authority, after it was placed in the Marquess of Clanrichard, whose Zeal and Devotion to the Roman Catholick Religion, hath been always as eminent and unquestionable, as his Loyalty and Integrity to the King, and whose being a Catholick, hath not been able to thelter him from the Virulence of those Tongues, which have endeavoured to wound and deprave the most clear, great, and excellent Persons. The very same Tongues and Pens, having with equal Licence and Malice, and with the same Calumnies aspersed the one and the other; so that in Truth, Religion will be found to have the least Influence upon the Hearts of those, who have so often mentioned it, as their only Motive to those unlawful Actions, which are not confiftent with any Religion. The

Marquess of Clanrickard intreated to accept the Government.

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The Lord Lieutenant was no fooner under Sail, than the Assembly applied themselves to the Marquess of Clamickard, who was then at his House at Laghrengh, and befought him to assume the Govern-ment of the Kingdom, as Lord Deputy of Ireland, according to the Power left with him by the Lord Lieutenant. But the Marquels absolutely refused to do it, except they satisfied the Provisoes in the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to him, and that he faw fuch an Union among them, as might free the King's Authority from the Affronts it had been exposed unto; hereupon the Affembly unanimously professed all Obedience to his Majesty's Authority, as it was vested in him, and petitioned him to assume it, without which they said the Nation would be exposed to utter Ruin; and the Bishop of Fernes more particularly importuned him in the Name of the Clergy, not to decline a Charge which could only preserve the King's Power in that Kingdom, and the Nation from Destruction, promised so entire a Submission and Co-operation from the whole Clergy, that his Authority sould not be disputed.

There was then in the Possession of the Roman Catholicks the Province of Connaght, that Time in which they had the strong Castle of Athlone, and the strong and important Town and Harbour of Gallway, and many other leffer

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Forts and Places of Strength, a good Part of the Province of Munster, and in it the City of Lymerick, which by the strong Scituation of it, and the Advantages it might have from the Sea, could alone (with the Help and Affiffance of Gallway) have maintained a War against the Rebels Forces in Ireland; they had many Parties of Horse and Foot in Leinster, Munster, and Ulfter, which being drawn together, would constitute a better Army than the Rebels were in Truth Masters of: So the Marquess had Argument enough to hope, if he could be confident of the Union of the Nation, and he might reasonably promise himself an Union of the Nation, if he could be confident of the Affections and Integrity of the Clergy; and they did now promise with that Solemnity, that if he would not be confident of them, the Fault would be imputed to him, for they could do no more on their Parts, to create a Belief in him: He was therefore contented to take the Charge upon him, and obliged them presently to consider of the Way to keep all the Forces, when he should have drawn them together, and to fecure the Towns of Lymerick and Gallway with strong Garrisons, which was the first work concluded on, on all Hands necessary to be performed.

Very

Their Be- Very few Days had pass'd, after the Lord haviour to Deputy had upon such their Importunity Deputy. and Professions, taken the Government upon him, when it was proposed in the

and Professions, taken the Government upon him, when it was proposed in the Assembly (before their Condition was impaired by any further Progress, or new Success of the Rebels) that they might send to the Rebels to treat with them, upon surrendering all that was left in their Hands, and when the fame was opposed with Indignation by the major Part of the Assembly, the Bishop of Fernes himself, who had fo newly importuned the Lord Deputy to affume the Charge, and made fuch ample Promise in the Name of the Clergy, seemed to concur with those who were against treating with the Enemy, but instead of it earnestly press'd; that they might in order to their better Defence, return to their ancient Confederacy, and so proceed in their Preservation without any respect to the King's Authority; and this Motion found such a concurrence in the Assembly from most of the Bishops and Clergy, and many others, that the Officers of the Army, the principal of the Nobility and Gentry, found it necessary to express more than ordinary Passion in their Contradiction; they told

The Bishops them, they now manifested, that it was not smartly re-their Prejudice to the Marquess of Ormond, nor their Zeal to Religion that had transported them, but their dislike of the King's Autho-

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rity, and their Resolution to withdraw themselves from it; that they themselves would constantly submit to it, and defend it with their utmost hazard, as long as they should be able, and when they should be reduced to that Extremity, that treating with the Rebels could be no longer deferred, they would in that Treaty make no Provision for them: but be contented, that they should be excluded from any Benefit thereof, who were fo forward to exclude the King's Authority. Upon these bold, but necessary Menaces (to which they had not been accustomed) the Clergy and their Party seemed to acquiesce, and promised all Concurrence; but from this very Time, all the Factions and Jealousies which had been before amongst them were revived.

The Irish in all Quarters, of which the several I-Rebels were possessed, not only submitted rish desert and compounded, but very many of them bels. entered into their Service, and marched with them in their Army; and the Lord Deputy grew as much in their Disfavour, as the Lord Lieutenant had been, and his being a Friend to the Marquess of Ormond, destroyed all that Considence, which his being a Roman Catholick had merited from

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Notwithstanding all these Discouragements, some whereof he expected not, the Deputy issued out his Orders to all the S 3 Forces,

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Lord Deputy appoints a Rendez-Touz.

Forces, which for conveniency of Quarter, and the more to infest the Rebels, were scattered over the Province, that they should meet at the General Rendezvouz at the Time and Place appointed; refolving with as much Expedition as he could to ingage the Enemy, which in Truth, (with putting in fo many Soldiers into those Towns and Places of Strength, which had been delivered to them, and with Sickness) was now much weakened, and he did once draw together a greater Body of Horse and Foot, than all the Forces that the Rebels could bring would confift of, and hearing that Ireton (who then commanded in Chief for the Rebels in the Resolves to Kingdom) marched towards Athlone, he made all possible haste to incounter him, but after he had gone two Days march towards the Place, he received Intelligence that the Rebels (being furnished with all necessary Guides, and having much better Information of all he did from the Irish, than the Deputy could procure) were marched over the Mountains towards Gall-Upon which Advertisment, he made what hafte he could the same Way he came, and fent Orders to the Earl of Castlebaven, General of the Horse, to meet him with the Forces under his Command, at a Village where the Deputy expected the Rebels, being then within less than a Mile with

fight Ireton.

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with their main Body, and only a narrow Pass between them, which the Deputy made little Doubt of defending, until all his Forces would come up, and then resolved to fight them, which was the only Thing he defired, and believed himself to be in a very good Posture so to do. When the Earl of Castlehaven received his Orders to march, he took special Care to leave a fingle Pass (by which the Rebels might possibly get over the River of Shannon) well guarded, that so they might be intirely engaged at the Place, where the Deputy was without any Danger of their Rear, he did not think the guarding of the Place of any Difficulty, where there was an old strong Castle that stood even into the River, and in the Mouth of the Pals, and against which the Rebels could not plant any Ordnance to annoy it, and in this Castle he left Threescore Musketeers, and withal Two Troops of Horse, which was strong enough to have kept the strongest and best furnished Army from landing on that fide.

The Earl had not been marched above Three Hours, when upon the rifing of a Hill he heard the Report of a few Muskets, and looking behind him, he saw the Two Troops of Horse, which he had left to guard the Pass, running and dispersing with all imaginable Confusion, and with-

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out being purfued by any Man; the Rebels having (it feemed) excellent and speedy Intelligence of the Earl's March, sent over two or three Boats of Muskeeters. from the other fide of the River, who without the least Opposition, or having one rish Troops Man hurt, landed at the Castle, which the Horse and Foot abandoned and left to their Possession; fo that 'twas then in their Power to draw over as many as they would of their Army. As foon as the News was heard amongst those who marched with the Earl, without any respect to his Person, command or intreaty, or without the least fight of an Enemy, or indeed possibility of being purfued, (for there was yet only a few Foot landed on that fide the River, and their bringing over Horse would take up much Time) they fled, dispersed, and disbanded, infomuch that of Four Thoufand, which in the Morning the Body confifted of, the Earl brought not with him to the Place where the Lord Deputy was above Forty Horse; so the Deputy easily faw he was in no Case to ingage the Rebels, that he should be quickly attacked in the Rear, by that Part of the Army which had already, and would fpeedily pass the River, and that the same fright possest his Men, who had hitherto kept the Bridge, and who now began to yield Ground, that in Truth very many of his Soldiers

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Soldiers had that Night run away both Horse and Foot, when they had gotten out of the Danger of the Enemies pursuit, dispersing themselves, and from this Time the Deputy could never draw any considerable and firm Body into the Field, nor make any Opposition to the Progress of the Rebels; the Irish in all places submitting and compounding with them, murmuring as much against the Lord Deputy, as they had done before against the Lord Lieutenant.

Before the Lord Lieutenant left the Lord Ta-Kingdom, he had fent the Lord Viscount affe's Ne-Taaffe, (who had been an Eye-witness of with the all his Proceedings, and had in vain labour-Duke of ed to compose and dispose the Minds of Lorrain. the Clergy to the King's Service) to give the King an Account of his Affairs; and how impossible it would be to preserve his Authority in that Kingdom, without more than ordinary Supplies from Abroad; his Lordship landed in Flanders, the King being then in Scotland, and quickly underflood, how unlikely his Journey into that Kingdom, was to advance the Business for which he came, or indeed that he should be admitted to the Presence of the King, from whom most were removed that attended him thither, and hereupon he stayed in Flanders, and found an Opportunity to represent the Catholicks of Ireland, in luch

fuch manner to the Duke of Lorrain (who being nearly allied to the King, always professed singular Affection to his Majesty and his Interest) that in the end he prevailed with him to fend fome Relief, and as foon as it was known, that the Lord Lieutenant

Sader to Ireland.

Who sends was landed in France, the Duke sent a Person of principal Trust about him (the Abbot of St. Katherins) to Ireland with a Credential, as his Ambassador to the Clergy, and the Catholick Nobility, and Gentry in that Kingdom, to treat with them in order to the receiving Aid and Support from the Duke; and to the end, that his Highness might in Truth understand in what Capacity they were to be relieved, and how they could themselves contribute thereunto; it not being then known, that the Marquels of Ormond had left the King's Authority behind him; but rather conceived, that upon those many Provocations and Affronts which had been offered to him, he had withdrawn with his Person, the Countenance and Authority they had fo much under-valued, and so little deser-

When the Abbot landed in Ireland, (which was about the end of February, and within little more than two Months after the Lord Lieutenant was departed thence,) he heard that the Marquess of Clanrickard was the King's Deputy, and therefore he

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gave him present Notice of his Arrival, ad-Ambassadressed himself to him, showed his Commission Lorrain and Credentials; and affured him, that the applied to Duke his Master had so great an Affection the Lord to the King of England (the Preservation of Deputy. whose Interest in that Kingdom was the chief Motive to him, to offer his Assistance) That if he had known any Perfon, had been intrusted there with his Majesty's Authority, he would have addressed himself to him, and to no other. And he finding his Lordship invested with that Power, did, what he knew his Master expected at his Hand, apply himself unto bin, with, and by whose Direction he would alone fleer himself through that Negotiation. He told him, the Duke had already disbursed 6000 Pistoles, for the supplying them with those Things, he heard they stood most in need of, which were brought over by a Religious Person, who came with him, and that he was ready to be informed. of what they would desire from his Highness, that might inable them to resist the Enemy, and that he would Consent to any Thing, that was reasonable for him to undertake.

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Hereupon the Lord Deputy appointed Lord Dea Committee of the Commissioners of puty appoints Com-Trust, together with some Prelates, to con-missioners to fer with the Ambassador, to receive Over-confer with tures from him, and to present them unto him with their Advice thereupon: They met accordingly, and received the Propositi-

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ons from the Ambassador, such as were so unagreeable to the Profession he had made of Respect to the King, and indeed so inconsistent with the King's Honour and Interest; that they proceeded rather from the Encouragement and Contrivance of the Irifb, than from his own Temper and Difposition, and this was the more believed, when instead of returning the Propositions to the Lord Deputy, they kept the same in their own Hands, put out some of those, who were appointed by him to be of the Committee, and chose others in their Pla-

tiation.

fair Nego-ces, and proceeded in the Treaty, without giving the Deputy an Account of what was demanded by the Ambassadour, or what they thought fit to offer to him; of all which the Deputy took notice, and thereupon forbid them to proceed any further in that way, and restrained them unto certain Articles, which he fent them, which contained what he thought fit to offer to the Ambaffador, and gave them Power only to treat; but notwithstanding his pofitive Directions, they proceeded in their Treaty with the Ambassadour, and sent Advice to the Deputy to consent unto the Articles proposed by him; fince (they faid) he would not recede from what he had proposed, and that it was much better to submit to the same, than that the Treaty should be broken off.

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The Deputy as positively declared, That what was demanded was fo derogatory to the Honour of the King his Mafler, and destructive to his Interest, that he would never agree to it, and resolved presently to leave the Town: And when the Ambaffador sent to him to desire to see him, and to take his leave of him, he absolutely refused, and sent him Word, That Message he would never pay his Civility to, or receive from the it from a Person, who had so much swerved puty to the from the Propositions made by himself, and ambassa. who had presumed to make Propositions so dis-dour. honourable to the King his Master, and (he believed) so contrary to the good Pleasure of the Duke of Lorrain, and that he would send away an Express to the Duke, to inform him of his Miscarriage, and he presumed, he would do Justice unto the King upon him.

When the Prelates saw that no Obstina-The Amcy in the Ambassadour, nor Importunity recedes
from them could prevail with the Lord from bis
Deputy, they, to shew what influence they Demands.
had upon that Treaty, perswaded the Lord DeAmbassadour to the same Propositions, puty sends
which he had formerly (no doubt by the same tlemen to
Advice) rejected, and thereupon to make treat further with
the Sum formerly disbursed by the Duke at the Duke
his coming out of Flanders sull 20000 l. of Lorand the Lord Deputy sent a couple of rain, viz.
SirNichoGentlemen into Flanders, to treat surther las Plunwith the Duke of Lorrain, according to ket, and
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fuch Commissions and Instructions as he gave them, who arrived in those Parts about the Month of July following. The Bishop of Fernes about the same Time left Ireland, and came likewise to Bruxels, and having (without the Privity of the Lord Deputy) received some secret Trust and Delegation from the Prelates of Ireland, and Credit from them to the Duke of Lorrain, he quickly interested himself in that Treaty, and took upon him the greatest Part in it: And that which he faid was the Sense of the Nation, He reproached the Persons imployed and trufted by the Deputy, with all the Proceedings which had been in Ireland by the Confent of the Confederate Catholicks: inveighed against their oppoof the Bi-fing the Pope's Nuncio, and appealing against the Excommunication issued out by him; he told them (and all this by a Letter under his Hand) That he was clearly of Opinion, that the Excommunication was of Force, and that the greatest States-men, Soldiers, Citizens, and People disobeying, and now obstinate, are, and were delivered to Satan, and therefore forfaken of God, and unworthy of Victory, and his Holy Bleffing; and thereupon be said, he did with all Sincerity offer his own humble Opinion, what

was to be done by them, which was to the

end the Agreement, they were making with

his Highness the Duke of Lorrain, might be-

Carriage shop of Fernes.

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come profitable to the Nation, and acceptable in the Eyes of God. That they would immemediately with bumble Hearts, make a Submission to his Holiness in the Name of the Nation, and beg the Apostolical Benedicti-That the Light of Wisdom, the Spirit of Fortitude, Virtue, Grace, Success, and the Blessing of God, might return again to them. He told them the Necessity of doing this was the greater, for that the Person from whom they came with Authority (the Marquess of Clanrickard the Lord Deputy) was for several Causes excommunicated a Jure & Homine, and that he was at Rome reputed the Contemner of the Authority and Dignity of Church-men, and a Persecutor of the Lord Nuncio, and some Bishops, and other Churchmen; and after many rude and bitter Reproaches against the Deputy, he said these Words, Do you think God will prosper a contract grounded upon the Authority of such a Man, and shortly after he faid, that if the Duke of Lorrain were rightly informed of the Business, he would never enter upon a Bargain to preserve, or rather restore Holy Religion in the Kingdom, with Agents bringing their Authority from a cursed withered Hand; and then concluded with these Words, As for my Part upon the denial to hear my humble Prayers, which I hope will not happen, I will withdraw my self as a Man, despairing of any Fruit to come from an unsound Trunk, where

where there is no sap of Grace, and am resolved to communicate no more with you in that Affair, but rather to let the Prince know, he is building his Resolution of doing good upon an unballowed Foundation. And that God therefore (unless himself would undertake to get an Absolution for the Nation) will not give him the Grace to lay down the lapis angularis of his own House again in that Kingdom. This Letter bore date at Bruxels on the 20th of July, 1651. The Perfons to whom it was directed being then in the same Town; what the Issue of the Treaty was, and what Regard was had to the King's Honour, and Interest, I shall not mention in this Place, the Articles being made Publick to the World; but shall only insert the Letter, which the Lord Deputy wrote to the Duke of Lorrain, in Answer to one he had receiv'd from his Highness, and after he knew what Transaction had been made with him; the Letter was dated the 20th of October, 1651. in these Words,

May it please your Highness,

Letter from ce the Lord con ftar Deputy to the Duke of con your High Lorrain. con wherein y

Had the Honour, the 12th of this In"ftant, to receive a Letter from
your Highness, dated the 10th September,
wherein you are pleased to express your
great Zeal for the Advancement of the

"Catholick Religion in this Kingdom,

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" your great Affection to the King my " Master, and your good Opinion of this " Nation, and Compassion of their Suffer-" ings, and your great Readiness to afford " them Aid and Affistance, even equal with your own Interest and Concern-" ment; and that your Highness received " fuch Satisfaction from the Queen and " Duke of York, as did much strengthen " those Resolutions, so as they might soon-" er have appeared, but for the stay made " here by Monsieur St. Katherine, and his " large Northern Voyage upon his return; " and referred what concerned the Agree-" ment to the Relation of those Commis-" fioners I had imployed to your High-" ness to treat upon that Subject of Assi-" stance, and Relief for this Kingdom, I " do with much Alacrity congratulate your " Highnesses pious Intentions for the Pre-" fervation of the Catholick Religion, your " great and princely Care to recover his " Majesty's Rights and Interests from the "Rebel Subjects of England, and the " high Obligation you put upon this Na-" tion by your tender Regard of them, " and defire to redeem them from the " great Miseries and Afflictions they have " endured, and the imminent Danger they " are in; and it shall be a principal Part of " my Ambition, to be an uleful Instru-"ment to serve your Highness, in so fa-

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" mous and glorious an Enterprize; and " that I may be the more capable, to con-

" tribute somewhat to so religious and

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" just Ends. " First, in discharge of my Conscience " towards God, my Duty to the King my " Master, to disabuse your Highness, and " give you a perfect and clear Information, " Io far as comes to my Knowledge, I am " obliged to represent to your Highness: " That by the Title of that Agreement, " and Articles therein contained, made by " those Commissioners imployed to your " Highness, and but lately come unto my " Hands; they have violated the Trust re-" posed in them, by having cast off and " declined the Commission and Instruction they had from me in the King my " Master's behalf, and all other Powers " that could by any other Means be de-" rived from him, and pretend to make " an Agreement with your Highness in the " Name of the Kingdom and People of " Ireland, for which they had not, nor " could have any warrantable Authority, cc and have abused your Highness by a " counterfeit shew of a private Instrument, " fraudulently procured and figned (as I " am informed) by some inconsiderable " and factious Persons, ill affected to his " Majesty's Authority, without any Con-" fent or Knowledge of the generality of

"the Nation, or Persons of greatest Qua"lity and Interest therein, and who under
"a seeming Zeal, and Pretence of Service
"and Affection to your Highness, labour
"more to farissie their private Ambitions,
"than the Advantage of Religion or the
"Nation, or the prosperous Success of your
"Highnesses generous Undertaking.

" Highnesses generous Undertaking. "And to manifest the clearness of my " own Proceedings, and to make fuch de-" ceitful Practices more apparent: I fend " your Highness herewith an Authentick " Copy of my Instructions, which accom-" panied their Commission when I employed them to your Highness, as a suf-" ficient Evidence to convince them; and " having thus manifested their breach of " publick Trust, I am obliged in the King " my Master's Name, to protest against " their unwarrantable Proceedings, and to " declare all other Agreements and Acts " whatfoever concluded by those Commis-" fioners, to be void and illegal, not be-" ing derived from, or confonant to his " Majesty's Authority: Being in Duty ob-" liged thus far to vindicate the King my " Master's Honour and Authority, and to " preferve his just and undoubted Rights " from fuch deceitful and rebellious Practi-" ces; as likewise with an humble and re-" spective Care to prevent those Prejudi-" ces that might befall your Highness; in

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cc being deluded by counterfeit Shews of doing you greater Honour, than it is " apparent can arise from any Underta-" king, laid upon such false and ill-ground-" ed Principles, as have been smoothly " digested and fixed upon the Nation, as " their Defire and Request, and must o-" verthrow all those Heroick and Princely Acts. Your Highness hath proposed to your felf for God's Glory and Service, " the Restauration of oppressed Majesty, " and the Relief of this distressed Kingdom, which would at least fall into in-" testine Broyls and Divisions, if not forcibly driven into Desparation. I shall " now with a hopeful, chearful, Importu-" nity, upon a clear Score (free from those " Deceits) not only propole unto your " Highnels; that for the Advancement of all those great Ends you aimed at (in the King my Master's Name, in the " Name of all the Loyal Catholick Sub-" jects of this Nation, and for the Prefer-" vation of those important cautionary Places, that are Security for your Highnesses past, and present Disbursements) you " will be pleased to quicken, and hasten " those Aids and Assistance, you intended " for the Relief of Ireland. And I have " with my whole Power, and through greatest Hazards strove to defend them for you, and to preferve all other Parts, ce that

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" that may at all Times be of Advantage, " and a Safeguard to your Fleets and Men " of War, having yet many good Har-" bours left. But do also engage in the "King my Master's Name, whatsoever " may prove to your Satisfaction, that is " any way confiftent with his Honour and " Authority, and have made my humble " Application to the Queen's Majesty, and " my Lord Lieutenant (the King being " at that Time in Scotland) further to a-" gree, confirm and fecure, whatfoever " may be of Advantage to your Highnels, " and if the last Galliot had brought us " 10000 l. for this instant Time, it would " have contributed more to the Recovery " of this Kingdom, than far greater Sums " delayed, by enabling our Forces to meet " together for the Relief of Lymerick, " which cannot but be in great Distress, " after so long a Siege, which if lost (tho " I shall endeavour to prevent it) will " cost much Treasure to regain it; and if " your Highness shall be pleased to go on " chearfully, freely, and feafonably with "this great Work, I make no Question, " but God will give fo great a Bleffing, as "You, my Self, and all the Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, may foon "and justly proclaim and leave Re-" corded to Posterity, That your High " ness was the great and glorious Restorer

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An HISTORICAL VIEW

" of our Religion, Monarchy and Nation. And that your Highnels may not be diffeouraged, or diverted from this generous Enterprize, by the malice or invectives of any ill affected, it is negeffary Duty in me to represent to your Highness, that the Bishop of Fernes (who as I am informed) hath gained some Interest in your Favour, is a Person that ever hath been violent against, and e malicious to his Majesty's Authority and Government, and a fatal Instrument in contriving and fomenting all those Divisions and Differences, that have rent " in funder this Kingdom; the Introduction to our present Miseries, and weak Condition; and that your Highness may thereby know his Disposition, I fend herewith a Copy of part of a Letter written by him, directed to the Lord Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Mr. Jeffery Brown (which was part of that Letter mentioned before) and humbly submit it to your Judgment; whether these Expressions be agreeable to the Apostolical Spirit, and (confidering whose Person and Authority I represent) what ought to be the Reward of fuch a Crime: I " must therefore defire your Highness, in " the King my Master's Behalf, that he may " not be countenanced or intrufted in " any Affairs, that have relation to his Majesty's

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" jesty's Interest in this Kingdom, where I " have conflantly endeavoured by all poffi-" ble Service, to deferve your Highnefles " good Opinion, and obtain that Favour " to be a most faithful Acknowledger of " it in the Capacity, and under the Title f of,

> Your Highness's, bro_Lent

Athenree, 10th.

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Octob. 1551. Most Humble and

Obedient Servant.

Clanrickard,

It cannot be doubted, but what this eminent Catholick Lord (who for Loyalty and Religion hath been, and is dispoiled of as great a Fortune, as Subjects enjoy in any Kingdom) hath faid concerning that Treaty, will find more Credit with the World, than any thing the Bishop of Fernes, or any obscure loose Fryar can publish in the bitternels of their Spirit, who too much declare that Irreverence they bear towards his Majesty, by their rudeness to those who are intrufted to govern them, and the contempt they have of all the Laws, which are to restrain and contain them within the Rules of Obedience. One of the principal Motives which induced the Marquels to T 4 fubDifobedi-

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Deputy.

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submit to that great Charge, and to un-

dertake a Province, which he knew would

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be very burthensome and grievous in several Respects; was the joint Promise that the City of Lymerick, and Town of Gallway would pay all imaginable Duty to him; the Clergy obliged themselves in that Particular with all Confidence, and the Deputies of the Place promised all that could be defired, but when the Lord Deputy found it necessary to settle that Business, they would neither receive a Governor or Garrison from him, and when he offered himself to stay rick and in Lymerick (when Ireton was drawing be-Gallway fore it) and to run the same Fortune with to the Lord them, they refused it as peremptorily as they had done to the Lord Lieutenant. It is true, both Lymerick and Gallway were. content to receive Soldiers, but they must be fuch only as were of their own choosing, not fuch either in Number or Quality, as the Deputy would have fent to them, or as were necessary for their Security; they chose likewise their own Governor, or rather kept the Government themselves, and gave the Title to one whom they thought least likely to contradict them; and in a Word, behaved themselves like two Commonwealths, and obeyed the Deputy no farther than they

were inclined to by their own Convenien-

cy; they who compounded with the Ene-

my in the Country, corresponded with

Irifly correspond mith the English Rebels.

them in the Town, and thereby gave the Enemy Intelligence of all that past. Wonderful Diligence was used to make it thought, that the Independents were not uncharitable unto Catholicks, and that they wished not any Compussion should be used in Matters of Religion; and when the Acts of Cruelty and Blood, of putting their Priests and Prelates to an ignominious Death (of which there were new Instances every Day) were mentioned, it was answered, those Proceeding were carried on by the Presbyterians, very much against the Nature and Principles of the other Party.

This License of Communication, and The Lord the evil Consequences that must attend it, Deputy unwere enough understood by the Lord De-went this puty; but could be no more prevented, in-Corresponformed or punished, than he could infuse dence. a new Heart or Spirit into the People: One Instance will serve the turn; there was one Fryar Anthony Gaughagan in the Town, Instanced who had always adhered to the Nuncio, in Fryar Anthony. and opposed the King's Authority to the utmost of his Power. Several Letters written by him into the Rebels Quarters, were intercepted and brought to the Deputy, in which though there were many Things in Cypher, there appeared much of the present State and Condition of the

Town, and in one of them, dated the 14th

Febru-

February, 1651. was this Passage, If the Service of God had been as deep in the Heurts of our Nation, as that Idol of Dagon, a foolish Loyalty, a better Course for its Honour and Preservation had been taken in Time. The Deputy believed the Crime to be fo apparent, and of fuch a Nature, that what Accomplices foever he might have, none would have the Courage to appear in his behalf, and that he might give the Clergy an Opportunity to shew their Zeal in a Business that so much concerned their common Safety, he referred the Examination of the Fryar to the Bishops, (whereof there were Three or Four in Town) and to some other of the Principal of the Clergy, and appointed them to require him to produce the Cypher, which he had used, and to examine him to whom the Letters were intended, they being directed to Counterfeit and Suppolititious Names. The Cypher was produced accordingly, and thereby many Expressions in the Letter appeared full of Neglect and Reproach of the King and others, of Infolency, and continually towards the Lord Deputy, they mentioned little Hopes was left of Relief from the Duke of Lorrain, and that they resolved to send one to treat with the Rebels, and had found a private Means of conveying one to that Purpose. The Fiyar promised to use all his Diligence to dispose the Catholicks, to bave

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have a good Opinion of the Independents, and made some Requests concerning himself. All that he alledged for his Defence was, that the Letters written by him, were to one who was imployed by the Court of Rome, that he had no ill meaning against . the King or Deputy, and that himself had a Trust from Rome, and Instructions from the Secretary of the Congregation, de propaganda fide, and the Bishops certified, that they had feen the Instructions, and that they did not relate at all to the Temporal State, and this was all the Satisfaction, and all the Justice the Deputy could procure, though he wrote feveral Letters of Exposulation to the Bishops thereupon; and whether this be any Part of the Priviledges, and Immunities of the Catholick Roman Church, and enjoyed in any Catholick Country, and whether it can be indulged to them in any other Country, where the Authority of the Bishop of Rome is not submitted unto, we must leave to the World to judge and determine. And if Protestant Kings and Princes are fevere, and provident for the Prevention of such Practices, and for the establishing of their own Secu- A good rity, it must not be imputed to an unsea-Caution. sonable Jealousie, or a Prejudice to the Roman Catholick Religion, but to the unrealonable Prefumption of those Men, who have pretended Religion for their Warrant,

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An HISTORICAL VIEW

or Excuse for the most unlawful, and most unjustifyable Actions and some has

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This was the Obedience and Submiffion quinter of they paid to the King's Authority and Gothe Difobedience and vernment; let us now fee what Govern-Differalty ment they provided for themselves, and of the Irish what Course they who were still jealous of Clergy. being betrayed by those who were intrusted by the King took for their own Security and Prefervation, and what Power the Bishops and Clergy had to support their own Interest and Dignity after they appeared to have enough to destroy or suppress

that of the King. To Closela obihut seit lin The City of Lymerick was intirely governed by the Clergy; how it rejected the first Peace in the Year 1646, affronted the Herald, the King at Arms when he came to proclaim it, wounded and turned out the Mayor, and chose Dominiek Faning the Captain of that Tumult and Outrage, Mayor in his Place, and how it submitted to the good Will and Pleafure of the Nuncio thereupon, is before remembered. How it behaved it self to the Marquels of Ormand as to the fecond Peace, and after it had promiled to receive a Garrison, how Father Wolfe a Fryar, raised a Mutiny, upon which, they refused to receive or to admit the Lord Lieutenant into the Town, when upon their own Invitation he was come even into their own Gates, is likewise before set down.

down. Contrary to their own Obligation and solemn Promise, they continued the same Obstinacy to the Marquess of Clamickard, resuled to receive such a Governour and Garrison as he thought sit to give them, or to receive himself into the Town with the Power and Authority of Deputy, after he had assumed that Title upon their own Importunity and Promise of Obedience. However, he sent such Men both Officers and Soldiers as they desired, and no other; let us see the Success.

As foon as Ireton came before it, and be-Lymerick fore they were press'd with any Want, they besieged. began to discourse of treating with the Rebels. All the Confiderations of what they might undergo hereafter occurred to them, and the Improbability of their receiving any Succour proportionable to their Wants, yet it was very hard for them to treat, it being notoriously known that heton would except very many principal Persons among them to whom no Mercy should be shew'd, nor would they expect any Conditions for the Exercise of their Religion they had been so jealous of. The Governour had only Power to fet the Watch, but the Mayor kept the Keys, and had many of the principal Officers at his Devotion. Upon the 23d Day of October, a mix'd Council of Officers, and of those of the Civil Government, met in the Town-House, to consult what

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what was to be done in Order to a Treaty with the Enemy; and after a long Debate. A Party in it was concluded by the major Part, that they it, resolve would proceed to a Treaty, and that they would not break it off upon Exception of any Person for Quarter or Confiscation of their Goods; and the next Day was appointed for choosing the Commissioners to be sent unto the Rebels. When the Refult of Yesterday's Debate being known in the Town, they no fooner met for the Election of the Commissioners, than the Bishops of Lymerick and Emly with the Clergy came to the Town-house, and threatned to iffue out an Excommunication against them, if they proceeded in those Counsels. The Effect whereof would be to deliver up the Prelates to be Whereupon flaughtered. Notwithstanding which, they

Whereupon flaughtered. Notwithstanding which, they the Bishops proceeded to the naming of the Persons, Excommu-who should treat for them. Whereupon mication, the Bishops published their Excommunication.

which was fixed on the Doors of all the Churches and Chapels in the Town; but alas! those Fulminations had been too loosely and impertinently used, to retain

any Virtue in Time of Need, as Catholick as the Town was (and there was not one Protestant in it) the Excommunication took

no Effect. But that very Night, Colonel Fennell, and the Officers of the Combina-

tion who press'd on the Treaty, possest

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themselves of St. Foku's Gate and Tower, Colonel and drove the Guards from thence, when Fennell Major General O Neal (who had the Ti-John's the of Governor of the Town) came thi- Gate and ther, and demanded by what Authority they Tomer. were there, he having given them Orders to guard another Quarter of the Town; they answered, the best of the Town knew and approved of what they did. It was very true, the Mayor was of the Party, and delivered the Keys of the Port, to Colonel Fennell, though he denied it to the other Party that opposed the Treaty, the Governor called a Council of War; and fent for Femel before them, who refused to come, and being supplied with Powder from the Mayor, he turned the Cannon upon the Town, and declared, that he would not quit the Place that he was possess'd of, till the City should be yielded to the Enemy; the Commissioners were sent out to Ireton, who would give no other Conditions, than that the Garrison should lay down their Arms, the Officers retaining their Swords, and to march to what Place they would, except only those exempted from Mercy (who of the Soldiers and Citizens, amounted to the Number of Twenty Four.) The Inha- Their bitants had Three Months Time assigned Capitulathem to transport their Persons, and Threetion. Months more to remove their Goods, withm any Place of the Kingdom appointed, in which

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which they might live. It cannot be be lieved those unequal and severe Conditions would have been accepted from any Army, not strong enough to have imposed upon a People unwilling to have fubmitted to them, and in a Season of the Year, that alone would have fecured a Place provided for Resistance (for it was now the End of October, or beginning of November) but that Colonel Fennell the fame Night those hard Demands were fent into the Town, received into St. John's Gate and Tower two hundred Men from Ireton, and the other were removed into another Fort, call'd Price's Mill, where after they had continued about two Days, and the People of the Town not yet agreeing what they would do, a Drum was fent through the City, commanding all manner of Soldiers in Pay in the Town to repair to our Lady's Church, and there to lay down their Arms, which was immediately obey'd; and the Soldiers being bid forthwith to leave the Town, Ireton march'd in, and was without any Contradiction quietly possest of all he desired, causing as many of the excepted Persons as could be found to be committed to Prifon.

In this manner was the City of Lymerick defended by the Catholick Irish, and this Obedience did the Prelates, and the Clergy eL

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Clergy in their Need, receive from those over whom they had Power enough to feduce from the Duty they owed the King, and from submitting to his Authority; and now was the Harvest when they gathered the Fruit, of all their Labours. The In- The Rebels stances of Severity and Blood, which the exercise Rebels gave upon their being posses'd of this cruelty. Place were very remarkable: The Bilhop of Lymerick, by Dexterity and good Fortune, either by marching out among the common Soldiers, or concealing himself with some faithful Friend in the Town, (which is not so probable) escaped their Hands, who manifested enough what his Condition would have been by the Treatment, which they gave to the Bilhop of Emely whom they took, and without any formality of Justice, and with all Reproaches imaginable caused him to be publickly hanged. This unhappy Prelate had, Bifton of from the beginning, opposed with the great- banged: est Passion the King's Authority, and most obstinately adhered to the Nuncio, and to that Party still, which was most averse from returning to their Allegiance, and was milerably and ignominiously put to Death by those who were equal Enemies to the King, and in that City wherein he had been a principal Instrument to shut out the King's Authority. It may be remembered in the former Part of this Discourse, that when the

the King at Arms proclaimed the first Peace in Lymerick, in the Year, 1646. one Dominick Fanning a Citizen of this Town raised a Mutiny, and led on that Rabble, which committed that Violence on the Herald himself and wounded the Mayor, and was made Mayor in his place by the Nuncio, and fo kept the Town in Rebellion. The same Man continued the same Spirit against his Majesty's Authority, and always opposed the receiving of a Garrison, when after the last Peace, the Lord Lieutenant fo often, and fo earnestly, press'd the same as the only means to preserve the City. This Domi-Dominick nick Fanning being one of those 24 which

Fanning Ireton had excepted, found a way among the Rioter. the common Soldiers to get out of the Town; notwithstanding all the Diligence that they used to discover him; when he was free and in fafety, he returned to the Town to fetch some Money that he had privately hid, and to make some Provision for his Sublistance, which he had not Time to do before. But going to his own Wife the refused to receive him, or to affir him with any Thing, whereupon he departed, and after he had walked up and down the Streets some time, the Weather being extreamly cold, he went to the main Guard, where was a good Fire, and being discovered to be a Stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily confess'd, that he

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was Dominick Faming, for whom such strict search had been made; he was apprehended, and the next Morning carried before the Governor, and immediately

hanged. The year to

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There were two other Examples no less memorable, in which two other notorious Persons were concerned, who had borne unhappy Parts in that City, when the Marquels of Ormand had so often, and in vain pressed Lymerick to receive a Garrison, and the Commissioners of Trust had used all their Perfuafions and Authority to the fame Purpole. The Rebels Army being so near, That it was believed, they intended to fit down before it, the Council fent two of the Aldermen to invite the Lord Lieutenant thither, being within less than a Days Journey of the City. How he was used when he came almost to the Gates, it is before remembered, and how the same Aldermen were sent out to inform him, that there was a Mutiny raised to hinder his being received, and till that was appealed, or composed, he was advised to forbear approaching nearer. That Mutiny was raised by one Wolfe a Fryar, who perluaded the simple People; that the receiving the Lord Lieutenant would be a great Prejudice to their Religion, which with the Countenance of Alderman Thomas Stretch, who was then Mayor of the City, U 3

City, eafily railed the Tumult, that caused the Gates to be shut, when he was ready to enter. This Alderman, and that Fryar were both taken, upon the Surrender and of Al- of Lymerick, and without any formality of Justice, hanged by those, who (but by derman Stretch. them) would never in probability have and Fryar been Masters of the Town. Lastly, This Wolf. very Colonel Fennell, who by possessing himself of the Port, and turning the Cannon upon the Town, betrayed the Place to the Rebels, though he had for the prefent the Benefit of the Articles, was with-And even in few Months after taken by them; and Col. Fenwithout any Confideration of his late Merit whose Trea-hanged, as the rest had been: In a Word, chery the Rebels were all those who had been the first Causers and posses'd of Raisers of the Rebellion, or who with most the City. Malice and Obstinacy opposed their return to the King's Obedience, and had the miffortune to fall into the Rebels Hands, as the Bishop of Raffee, who was taken and hang-

Others
murder'd
by the Rebels; Instances of
God's Justice, but
their Cruelty.

them.

ed by the Lord Broghill, Jeffery Baron who kept Waterford from receiving the Lord Lieutenant, taken afterwards at Lymerick, and hanged there, and many others were made the Examples of unufual Rigour by the Rebels, and are such Monuments of Calamity as are not frequently met with in Story, and ought to be revolved by the Survivors upon a just and pious Recollection of God's wonderful Proceedings against

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The Business of Lymerick being thus over. Ireton within a few Days after, and without drawing his Army nearer than the Castle of Clare, sent a most insolent Sum- insulting mons to the Town of Gallway, wishing Jummons to them to put him to no more Trouble, the Town of lest they fared as Lymerick did; adding fuch other Threats as he thought most like to make Impression upon them: And a great Impression they did make, but by the Death of Ireton they had a little Respite, His Death. the Rebels not being to intirely united under Command as before, and then the Town of Gallway addressed themselves to Gallway the Lord Deputy, and defired his Affistance, desires the promising all Obedience to his Majesty's Autho-of the Lord rity in him; nor was he so much discoura- Deputy. ged by their former Carriage, and their having accepted the Articles made with the Duke of Lorrain, and their declaring him to be their Protector without ever communicating it to the Lord Deputy, as to decline having further to do with them. But upon the first Address to him, he sent his Secretary to them with fome Directions, and shortly after went himself thither, having summoned such of the Nobility, Prelates, and principal Gentry, as could with Safety repair thither, to consult what might yet be done for their Defence: They having Men enough still dispersed in several Parties to relift the Enemy, if they were drawn

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nst he felves: And the Town of Gallway was for good a Port, that any Supplies or Succours might come from abroad to them.

All Disputes upon Commands being quickly composed among the Rebels, a small Party was sent under the Command But on ap. of Sir Charles Coote to streighten Gallway,

pearance of which wrought so far upon the Assembly a Party of there, that they importuned the Deputy desire to to give them leave to fend to the Compapitulate mander in Chief of the Rebels, for a safe

Conduct for their Commissioners to treat for some Conditions for the Nation, upon which they might submit to the Government of the Parliament, professing, that they would in the mean time make furth Preparation for their Defence, that if the Parliament would not give them good and ample Conditions, they would fell themfelves at fuch a dear Rate, as should make their Conquest of very little use to the Enemy. But when they found, they could not have fo much as a fafe Conduct fent for their Commissioners, nor could be admitted for much as to treat for the Nation, but only that particular Places, and Persons might be admitted to compound for themselves, on such Terms as others had done; their Spirits failed them, and after a very little Deliberation, and before they put the Rebels to the trouble of belieging them, without so much

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as consulting the Lord Deputy, or asking his leave (although he was in less than half a Day's Journey of the Town,) they entered into a Treaty, and in a short time after, surrender'd the Town into the Hands surrender'd the Rebels, who were amazed to see, der'd. I upon what easie Terms, they parted with their last Town, having still in loose Parties over the Kingdom, more Men in Arms to have defended, than the English could

have brought against it.

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The Marquels of Clanrickard did not leave the Kingdom in many Months after the furrender of this Town, but endeavoured by all Means possible to draw the scattered Forces together, that he might once fight the Rebels. But at last, after he had endeavoured in vain, and had received his Majesty's Commands, to take Care of his own Security, and that he fell not into the Rebelt Hands; after he faw those, upon whose publick Fidelity, and private Affections, he depended as much as upon any, fall every Day from him, and fubmit to the Rebels, upon such Conditions as did hardly affire them of Life at the best; having only Liberty to transport themselves to the Service of such Foreign Princes, as the Rebels believed to be their Friends; and after he was reduced to those Streights, that he durst not reside 24 Hours in one Place, for fear of being betrayed, and delivered

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Marquess of Clanlast forced to leave the Kingdom.

livered up into the Hands of the Rebels. and having no Pore to be his Friend, where a Vessel might attend to transport him, he was in the end compelled to ask a Pass from the Rebels, which they willingly and rickard at readily fent to him, and which he accepted without making any other Conditions for himself, than that he might for some time remain secure in their Quarters, without taking the Oath usually imposed by them, and afterwards had Liberty to transport himself into Parts beyond the Sea. Whereas, had he demanded a good Proportion to be allowed out of his own great Estate, and promised to have given them no further Trouble, it is probable, they would have confented to it: But the Integrity and Greatness of his Heart would not fuffer him to enjoy any Thing by the Favour and Permission of those, whose Destruction he desired, and meant always to profecute; and fo he transported himself in a Vessel belonging to the Rebels out of Ireland, about March or April, 1652, after he had borne the Title of the King's Deputy of that Kingdom little more than two Years, with very little more Obedience from the Catholick Irish, than had before been paid to the Lord Lieutenant.

This was the Fate of that unhappy Nation, both under Protestant and Roman Catholick Governors, and as the Catholick

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Governors, and all other Catholicks over whom he had Power; and indeed very many of the principal Catholicks of that Kingdom once paid all Obedience due to the Lord Lieutenant, while he remained amongst them; so the same Persons who most opposed him, and crost and hindered Submiffion to his Orders, and would have Religion believed the Cause of the Disobedience he found in the People, proved as inconvenient and refractory to the Catholick Governor; the fame Corporations continued the same Disobedience to the latter, as well as to the former. The same Clergy and Prelates supported and encouraged them in it, and as if the publick Calamity and Judgments, and the particular Fate which hath befallen many of their Friends, had made no Impression upon their Spirits; they have transported their Uncharitableness and Animolity, to keep them Company in their Banishment; and the same Persons continue their Virulency and Bitternels one against another, justifie all their Proceedings, which have been the Ground-work of theirs, and their Countrey's Destruction; and of almost the Extirpation of the Catholick Religion out of that Kingdom, and yet are so extreamly blinded with their Pasfion, that they hope to be thought to fuffer upon the Impulsion of Conscience, and for the Roman Catholick Religion; and which

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Loyalty to the King; they would be believed to be the most obedient Subjects to the King, and the most zealous Assertors of the Royal Power; and at the same time, justify and magnify the Proceedings of the Nuncio, reproach those Catholicks that adhered to the Lord Lieutenant, and to the Peace made by the Nation as excommunicated Persons; and all the other Acts done asterwards by the Clergy, without the least shadow of Law or Gospel to support them.

The Con-

Having drawn this Discourse into greater length, than in the beginning, I thought I fhould have had occasion to have done; I shall conclude with that earnest Defire with which I began, that the small seduced Number of that unhappy Nation, which continue in the same Errors they began, and persevere in building upon such Foundations, as can support no Structure of the Catholick Religion or Loyalty, would feriously revolve what they have done; what that Nation enjoyed before the late Rebellion, and the State into which they are now fallen, how much they have trespass'd against the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Kingdom, in kindling that Fire that hath confumed all their Habitations, and is not yet extinguished, nor can be, but by their real Acknowledgment and Repentance;

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tance; let them remember, they are Subjects to a Protestant King, and in a Kingdom where the Protestant Religion is by the Law established, and the Roman Catholick at the best only tolerated; and how incongruous a Thing it is, and destructive to their own Ends, to have it believed, that their Religion doth oblige or prompt them to any Actions repugnant to the Loyalty they owe to their King, or to that Obedience, without which the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preferved; let them be so modest, as not to affect to be thought better Catholicks, than those of their own Country, who differ from them in the Professions they made, and are much Superior to them in Quality and Number; at least, let them not be thought to profess another Faith, than what the Catholick Church owns and acknowledges, and hold themselves obliged by their Religion, to do that as Irish Catholicks, or to justify it (when they have done it) which Italian, Spanish, and French Catholicks (whose Religion is supported by their Law, and the other condemned) would hold finful to do, though they had the Pope's Authority and Command for every individual Act. Do the Prelates of the French Church believe themselves qualified to excommunicate Marshal Turene, because he is not a Roman Catholick, and

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is thought to be an Enemy to that Profession? Or can they absolve his Soldiers from Obedience to him, while the French King makes him his General of the Army? And what would the most Christian King do. if his Prelates should presume to exercise that Jurisdiction? If the Catholicks of Catalonia return unto their Allegiance, upon Articles of Indemnity from their King, and any Nuncio should inhibit them to submit to those Articles, as not ample enough for their Security, would the King of Spain be well pleafed with that Prefunption, or excuse those Subjects, who out of Terrour of fuch an Excommunication should fall from that Duty they had newly profess'd to him, or, who fought Absolution for not submitting to it? Will the Republick of Venice, or any Prince of Italy, fuffer their Subjects to pay fuch an Obedience to St. Peter's Chair, or will they diftinguish Proceedings against their Subjects in fuch a spiritual Rebellion, and those who raise Arms, seizes their Forts, or conspire the Death of their Sovereign? If none of these Catholick Nations are liable to those Obligations, nor can enjoy those Privileges, how came the Subjects of Ireland to be possessed of them, and the King of Ireland to be so much below his other Brethren, Christian Monarchs? If their Religion will not allow the same Obedience to be paid to him, it is an ill Argument

ment to induce him to be gracious to that Religion. Away then with the Antichristian Spirit of defending what hath been done amils, only because it hath been done; and discrediting the Catholick Religion, as if it would not suffer its Children to be dutiful and Loyal Subjects to Protestant Kings and Princes; and let what was done in the beginning, and progress of the Rebellion against the Elements of Christianity, be acknowledged and repented before God, and no more justified to the World, and what was done in Violation of the Laws and Government, be acknowledged and excused to the King by the Distemper and Accidents of the Times, and the unjustifiable Proceedings of those, who were unhappily intrusted with the Administration of Justice and Polity without defending them by fuch Principles, as must leave the Laws in Danger always to be invaded by the same Licence. Away with that uncharitable and undermining Spirit of Jealoufy against the Roman Catholick Religion, and the Professors of it, by owning and profesfing an Incapacity of living charitably and peaceably with those, who are not of the fame Faith, and those whose Profession is established, and cherished by the Laws of the Land, the Indulgence whereof others defire and expect; and of raising Enemies to a Nation, by avowing any National Diftrusts.

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trusts and Dislike of any who have been for fo many Ages incorporated with them, under the same Obligation of Religion or Allegiance; and let there be a joint Endeavour and Emulation, to justifie and commend their several Professions of distinct Faiths, by producing the unquestionable Effects of true Religion, in the Piety and Sanctity of their Lives towards God, the Duty and Obedience of their Actions towards the King, and Kindness and Peaceableness of their Conversation each to other. and all their Fellow Subjects: Lastly, away with that immodest and rude Spirit of Reproaching, and Reviling those, who by Extraction, Quality and Interest, are their Superiours, and have been or shall be placed by the King, in any Degree of Government, or Command over them; fince the Duty due unto Kings and Princes includes Respect and Reverence towards their Deputies and Ministers of Trust; and let such Civility of Address, and Decency of Language be used to them, as may dispose them to a temperate and candid hearing of their Defires and Complaints at least, that a just Prejudice against their Manners, may not bring a fatal Prejudice upon their Profession and Pretences. In a Word, let them believe, that any Virulency, Bitternels, and Distemper of Language, is not the Plaister of Isaiab to heal the Wounds

but of Hezekiah to make it run, though it were healed before; and let them make a fanctified use of what they have done and suffered; of what they have heard, and what they have seen; that they may not fall under that Curse of our Saviour himself; That seeing they might see, and not perceive; and hearing they might hear, and not understand; lest at any Time, they should be converted, and their Sins should be forgiven them.

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APPEN-

Of the Affairs of Irelands. Sucret Hearth to make it runt alleger it were besided before; and let thour make s fundation the of values they have idence and married and marries of what they have hearth and which they have bleen ; when circy may not falt under that Murle of our Laving lawent on bluster de les unes de gand aud Estle. Gant ben estat de august gandant francés aren nother Hand Shelts do any Tool, they begin but march and their Some and the force

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APRENDIX.

A COLLECTION of the Jeveral Massacres and Murthers committed by the Irish, since the 23d of October, 1641.

of L'llagmon shiW A : b'intrum

HE Rebels confessed to this Deponent that they killed in one Dr. Make Morning 954 in this County; well. and that besides them, they supposed they had killed 1100 or 1200 more in that County.

The County of Armach.

Protestants in Multitudes forced over the Bridge of Portnedown, whereby at feveral times there were drown'd in the River of Banne above 1000.

Great Numbers of Protestants drown'd at Corbridge and Kynard in the County of into a Bogg-pit-in the Paulit ofgamin inM. Many morx murther'd.

APPENDIX.

Mr. Fullerton, Clerk, Mr. Aubrey, Mr. Gladwich, murthered in the way towards Portnedown.

Many others murther'd; five murther'd foon after the beginning of the Rebellion; fifty murther'd at Blackwater-Church; twenty drown'd near the Water of Callon, and feveral others murther'd.

Mr. William Blundell drawn by the Neck in a Rope up and down Blackwater at Charlemont to confels Money; and three Weeks after He, with his Wife and seven Children, drown'd. Four and forty at several times murther'd: A Wife compell'd to hang her own Husband; with several other notorious Murthers.

Mr. Robinson the Minister, his Wife, and three Children, and seven more murther'd.

Two and twenty Protestants put into a thatch'd House in the Parish of Kilmore, and there burned alive.

The Lord Caufield murther'd.

Dr. Hodges, with forty three more, murther'd within a quarter of a mile of Charlemont. Protestants in Multitudes forced ...

Child, had her Belly ripp'd up, then drown'd.

b' Thomas Mason buried alive we are the

Seventeen Men, Women, and Children, cast into a Bogg-pit in the Parish of Dumcrees: Many more murther'd. Fif-

Fifteen Hundred murther'd in three Parishes; twenty seven more murther'd; Mr. Cambell drown'd.

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Three hundred Protestants stripped naked, and put into the Church of Loghgall, whereof about 100 murther'd within the Church; amongst whom John Gregg was quarter'd alive, his Quarters thrown into the Face of Richard Gregg his Father. The said Richard was after there murther'd, having received seventeen or eighteen Wounds, after cut into Quarters in this Deponents (his Wise's) Presence. Such as were not murther'd, were turn'd out a begging amongst the Irish, naked, and into the cold, most of which were killed by Irish Cripples, their Trulls and Children.

One hundred and eighty drownld (at

twice) at the Bridge of Callon.

One hundred (some say two hundred) more in a Lough near Ballimackilmorrogb.

Mr. Gabriel Constable, and his Mother

eighty Years old, murther d.vd qu

Five hundred murther'd at Armagh, befides forty eight Families murther'd in the Parish of Killaman.

Three had their Brains knock'd out with a Hatchet within the Church of Benhurb; eight Women drown'd in a River under the same Church; Christopher Glover murther'd.

Lieutenant James Maxwell (by order from Sir Phelim O Neil) was dragg'd out

APPENDIX.

of his Bed (raving in the height of a burning Fever) driven two Miles and murther'd; his Wife, great with Child, stripp'd stark naked and drown'd in the Blackwater, the Child half born.

Mr. Starkey (about 100 Years old) and his two Daughters stripp'd naked the Daughters forced to support and lead their Father (he being not able to go of himself) and having gone three quarters of a Mile, were all three drown'd in a Turf-pit.

Divers Englishmen in the Parish of Levi-

legish murther'd.

Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Franlan (both great with Child) and fix of their Children murther'd.

The County of Caterlagh.

Richard Lake hang'd at Leighlin-Bridge, fixteen more hang'd near that Place, two murther'd hear Caterlagh, two Women hang'd up by the Hair of their Heads all Night, the next Day being found still alive, they were murther'd.

At or near Leighlin-Bridge, three Men with their Wives and Children murther'd, one Woman and her Daughter murther'd, a Woman newly deliver'd of two Children, the one of them had his Brains beaten out against the Stones, and after thrown into the River Barrow, the other destroy'd; about

bout forty English murther'd thereabouts: Almost all the English about Gowran and Wells hang'd and murther'd, 10 10 2399116

. The County of Cavan.

Many Protestants forced over the Bridge of Belturber in the County of Cavan, and there drown danived shift bird sid brinds

Adam Bayley, and several others murther'd at Kilkolly in the County of Cavan. William Rocket drown'd near Belborber.

Several Scotch Families destroy'd, two of the Hovies and Abraham Jones inurther'd, with several other Murthers committed at Butlers-bridge.

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A distracted Gentleman run through with a Pike, he laughing the while.

The County of Clare igis

cara, tell they brake the Ice, and were Christopher Hebditch and sixteen more English Protestants murthered at or near the Caftle of Incherrony work intensities I

ty four more (lome count fifty) murther d and cucking of Corking ballonery. Divers murther'd at

Thomas Lencomb and his Wife hang'd at their own Door; John Sellen a Miller cut in pieces hard by Rossis John Carpenter and his Wife hang'd in Mr. Morgan's Wood, and their three Children stary d in the Place; Mars

Mary Tukesbury hang'd near thereunto. Mr. Tamuse a Chyrurgeon-Barber kill'd in the Streets of Ross, by one Christopher Gloud.

The County of Donnegall.

Law, and his Wife great with Child, murther'd, his faid Wife having her Belly ripped up, and the Child cut out of the Womb.

Robert Akins, Clerk, and thirteen more

murther'd at Caftledoe.

Sixty Persons that came in Boats from Kilhala, murther d by the Mac Stoines and O Boyles.

The County of Down.

Eighty forced to go on the Ice on Loghearn, till they brake the Ice, and were drown'de train and detailed and defined.

Mr. Tudge (the Minister of Newry)
Lieutenant Trevor and his Wife, and twenty four more (some count fifty) murther'd and cut in pieces at the Pass of Ballonery.

Divers murther'd at Caftle-Island and

Down.

A Scothman, an Englishman, and a Welchman imprisoned in the Stocks at Newcastle, where they lay without Breeches upon raw Hides, that their Joints rotted,

ted, infomuch that when two of them were afterwards hang'd, one of their Feet fell off by the Anckle.

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A Scotchman being driven out of the Newry, was knock'd on the Head by the Rebels; yet recovering himself, came naked again into the Town, whereupon the Rebels carried him and his Wife out of Town, cut him all to pieces, and with a skein ripp'd up his Wives Belly, so as a Child dropp'd out of her Womb.

A Dyer's Wife of Ross-Trevor was kill'd at the Newry, and her Belly ripp'd up by the Rebels (she being great with Child of two Children) who threw her and her Children into a Ditch, and that he, this Deponent, drove away Swine from eating one of her Children.

The Rebels confessed that Colonel Brian O Neil kill'd about a thousand in this County, besides three hundred kill'd at Killelagh.

At Servagh-bridge 100 drown'd, more 80, more 60, more 50, more 60, 27 Men murther'd.

The County of Dublin.

About the 28th of December, 1641, the Wife of Joseph Smithson Minister, was carried from Deans-grange near Dublin to Stellorgan, from thence to Powerscourt, and there she and her Servant hang'd.

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Henry

APPENDIX

Henry Maudesley hang'd at Moore-town.
Mr. Pardoe a Minister, and William
Rimmer a Packet Post, murther'd at Balrothery, Mr. Pardoe being afterwards cast
on a Dunghill, and his Head eaten with
Swine.

Derrick Hubert of Hohn-Patrick, Esq; murther'd the 2d of December, 1641.

Nicholas Kendiff murther'd near Dublin, fince the Cessation.

Robert Fagan murther'd at Clunduff.

The County of Fermanagh.

Arthur Champion and fixteen more murther'd at Shanock-Cafile; at another time twenty four; at another time two more murther'd.

ed. O sich mi bruitund a mode balla liste o

Seven hang'd at one time, and divers of there put to Death a sphird-dance of A

Eighty (some write an hundred and fifty) Men, Women, and Children, burn'd and kill'd in the Castle of Lisgorl in the County of Fermanagh.

Ninety Protestants murther'd at Moneagh-Castle, eighty at Tullagh-Castle; near Cordiller three hang'd; one more hang'd.

Mr. Middleton and a hundred more murther'd by Rowry Mac-Guire at Castleskeagh. Fourteen Protestants hang'd.

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Forty Protestants in the Parish of Newled to betten as he dib patrum num

Eighteen (some write seventeen) half hang d in the Church of Clownish, and so

Thirty murther'd in the Parish of Clan-

Twelve more murther d in Newtown,

William Ogden murther'd.

Parlon Flack and forty more (after Promile of safe Conveyance to Balg shanon, drown'd by Rowry Mac-Guire and his Confederates.

One hundred fifty and two (another fays a hundred) murther'd at Tully, after Quarter given or promised them.

Fifteen hang'd at Lowtherstown; two

murther'd at Kynally.

A Child of Thomas Strattons of Newton boil'd to Death in a Chaldron.

The County of Gallway,

Mr. Adam Novell and fix more, hang'd and murther'd by the Lord of Clanmorris.

Hugh Langridge murther'd near Loghreogn, having received near fixteen Wounds, and his Son having nine Wounds and left for Dead, yet recovered.

Mr. Corbet an ancient Minister, had his Head cut off by two young Cowheards

near Logbreogh.

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APPENDIX.

The Son of an Englishman murther'd: a Child so beaten as he died within three Days (nonteen (former tyrite feventeen aya

Sixty five Protestants (some fay eighty, some ninety, many of them Ministers) were murther'd at the Bridge of Shreel alias Shruel, Ludovicus Jones being amongst the rest hurried there to that intent, but escaped and died at Dublin 1646. aged 104.

The County of Kerry

Mrs. Whittell, her Husband, and eight more murther'd on Sir Valentine Brown's Lands; John and Simon Heard killed near Castlebaven; Goodman Cranbee, his Wife and Children, murther'd; feven drown'd by O Doinfaint's Rebels.

Anthony Field's Wife and feven more destroy'd by Sir Valentine Brown's

nants.

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Mrs. Burrill kill'd in her House by her own Servant; Lawrence Parry, his two Sisters, and Mr. Edward Lassell starved to Death, Mrs. Huffie, her Son and Daughand many more killed going from Macrone to Cork (with a Convoy which the Lord Muskerry did allow her) within a Mile of Cork. Mr. Codet an ancient I

Head cut off by two young Cowheards danida I The V

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The County of Kildare.

Ralph Heyward (having turn'd to Mass) was murther'd, his Wife and Children hang'd, the one at her Neck, the other at her Girdle; a Dog and a Cat hang'd with them.

Robert Woods flot to Death and

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John Morley, his Wife and Children, and one John Plivie (after they were turn'd to Mass) murther'd.

The County of Kilkenny,

About the 20th of December, 1641. the Protestants were stripped naked at Kilkenny, and whereas some of those stripped People with Ropes of Straw covered some part of their Nakedness, the Rebels set the Straw on Fire, thereby burning and grievously scorching them. Six Soldiers and two Boys having Quarter given them, were nevertheless hanged at Kilkenny.

A young Girl stripp'd about Easter 1642. in the City of Kilkenny by a Butcher, her Belly rip'd up that her Intrals fell out; where the Mayor (upon Complaint of the Mother) bade away with her and dispatch her, whereupon the Mother received seventeen or eighteen Wounds, and her other Child was also extreamly wounded, and

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APPENDIK.

all forced out of the City by Men, Women, and Boys, throwing Stones and Dirt at them, so as the two Children died in a Ditch.

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At Kilkenny, seven Englishmen hang'd, and one Irishman, because he was taken in their Company

Twelve murther'd at the Graige, one of them (being a Woman great with Child) had her Belly ripp'd up, the Child falling out alive, and a Child of a Year and a half old hang'd. Another of them named Robert Pyne (being twice hang'd up) was cast into his Grave, where he sate up, saying, Christ receive my Soul, and so was buried quick.

An old Man hang'd, and afterwards drag'd up and down till his Bowels fell out.

Christopher Morley and two English Boys at Castle-Comer hang'd. Another had his Head clove, and before he was Dead, hung on his Father's Tenter-hooks.

About fixty Men, Women, and Children more murther d at the Graige; many of them buried alive.

At Balincolough, within four Miles of Ross, April 1642. John Stone of the Graige, his Son, his two Sons in Law, and his two Daughters were hang'd; one of his Daughters being great with Child, had her Belly hipp'd up, her Child taken forth, and such barba-

barbarous beaftly Actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.

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In Kilkenny, Richard Philips, and five other Soldiers under Capt. Farrall (a Captain on his Majesty's Party) were (by the Command of the Lord Mountgarret) at the end of an House hang'd to Death about Easter, 1642.

not been releved by others, who turn'd them to the them out, which the the Children died in their many died, yet the Children died in their

Mrs. Jane Addis of Kilcourfie (after her going to Mass) murther'd in her House in Fox Countrey Com. Regis, having a Child not a quarter old; the Murtherers putting the dead Wornan's Breast into the Child's Mouth, bade it suck English Bastard, and so left it.

Arthur Scot murther'd at Laslooney, having twenty Wounds given him: Another Englishman hang'd at the same Place.

Two Men murther'd at Philips-town.

Seven murther'd at the Birr.

Thomas Horam hang'd at Philps-town.

Henry Bigland and eleven more hang'd and murther'd about Knocknemeis.

A Woman aged eighty Years stripped naked in Frost and Snow by two Daughters of Rowry Coghlan of Fercall-wood, before whose Door she died.

John Lurcan murther'd and chopp'd in

Piecesta b radrium Callgul barband

Tuo? by Sir Phylin O Mil.

APPENDIX.

Four English murther'd at Terence Coghilans House (Kilkolgan) about December,

1641.

Two and twenty Widows, and several stripped naked, who covering themselves in a House with Straw, the Rebels fired the Straw, and threw it amongst them to burn them; and they had been burn'd, had they not been rescued by others, who turn'd them out naked in Frost and Snow, so as many died, yea the Children died in their Mothers Arms.

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The County of Lytrim.

Mr. William Liston, and Mr. Thomas Fullerton (Clerks) kept two Days without Meat or Drink, and then murther'd near Mannor Hamilton 24 of January 1641.

An English Child taken by the Heels, had its Brains dash'd out against a Block of

Timber.

The County of Lymerick.

A Minister, his Wife, and four Children nurther'd by Hugh Kenedy and his Followers near Lymerick.

The County of Londonderry.

Six hundred English murther'd at. Gerwagh by Sir Phelim O Neil. The

The County of Longford.

Many cruelly murther'd at Longford, af-

ter Quarter promised.

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William Steel and four others hang'd at a Windmill near to Racleen till they were half dead, and then cut in Pieces by the Rebels.

The Wife of Henry Mead hang'd; the faid Henry himself being placed in a Ring amongst the Rebels, each stabbing of him as he was forced to flie from side to side, and so continued till his Shoulder and Breast were cut in two with a Bill-hook

George Forster, his Wife and Child, and the Wife of John Bizell, murther'd at Billinecorr; one other drown'd; some Chil-

dren there buried alive.

The County of Lowth.

Eighteen of the Lord Moor's Servants murther'd at Mellifort by Col. Cole Mac Bryan Mac Mahon and his Follwers, who would not fuffer them to be buried.

The County of Mayo.

About seven and twenty Protestants, besides Children, drown'd in the Bay or Harbour bour near Killala, by the Instigation of the

Thirty or forty English (formerly turn'd Papists) drown'd in the Sea near Killala.

A young Boy (Mr. Montgomerie's Son) killed by one that had been his School-Ma-ster; the Boy the while crying, Good Masser do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will. A Man wounded and buried a live. A Minister murther'd after he had gone to Mass: another hang'd near Ballyben.

At the Moyne alias Mogne, 59 Protestants stripped naked, and after barbarously murther'd; some encrease the Number much.

William Gibb and his Wife (both very

old) murther'd at the Moyn.

One hundred and twenty Men, Women, and Children stripped naked, and after murther'd at Bellick alias Bellecke.

George Buchanan mortally wounded, was near the Strade buried alive by Edmond

O Maghery and his Followers.

August 1643. the Wife of John Guardiner of the Barony of Carrogh, having Leave, and a Convoy of two Irishmen, to visit her Children at Bellick, was by the said Convoy cruelly murther'd.

At the Moyn the Rebels forced one Simon Leper's Wife to kill her Husband, and then cauled caused her Son to kill her, and then hang'd

The County of Meath

Near Navan the Son of James Wignall

murther'd about Novemb. 1641.

Mrs. Hegin and her Daughter, with two Children, murther'd at Wilkins-town by two Men hired thereto for two Barrels of Wheat; and Robert Robin murther'd near Sir William Hill's House.

Mr. John Ware murther'd at Moylagh;

four more hang dat the Navan.

Derth for bushing

An English Woman (a Papist) murther'd at Gerald Fitz-Gerald's House at Clonard.

The murcher of Thomas Preffick and of there at Trime of the Control of the Contro

The County of Monaghan.

Many Protestants hang'd at Carrick-mac-

crofs.

Sixteen Protestants at once hang'd at Counists; several others there also hang'd; and sixteen Women and Children drown'd in a Turf-Pit.

The Deponent's Father and Son mur-

ther'd.

Richard Blancy, Efq; hang'd.
Some murther'd in Monaghan.

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APPENDIX

Seven murther'd in the Fewer Mr. Lloyd and others murther'd, and one buried quick.

John Hughes and 24 murther'd.

Eighteen murther'd.

Seventeen Men, Women, and Children, drown'd at Ballycrofs.

Many murther'd, and four drown'd.

Cornet Clinton and his Grandchild drowned; many others murther'd.

The Queen's County.

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Five murther'd, whereof one was an English Woman (turn'd to Mass) great with

Child, who was fhot.

John Nicholfon and his Wife murther'd by Florence Fitz-Patrick and his Servants on the Sabbath-Day, the first Deponent hardly escaped Death for burying them. Elizabeth Baskervile says that Mrs. Fitz-Patrick blam'd the Murtherers because they brought not Mrs. Nicholfon's Fat or Grease, wherewith she might have made Candles.

Thomas Keyer, (a Justice of Peace of the Queen's County) Esq, aged 66, and Thomas Dubbleday hang'd near Burrought Castle, and Dubbleday shot as he was hanging, both being first stripped naked, gored and pricked in several Parts of their Bodies.

Amy Mamphin's Husband murther'd, and the compell'd to ftand in his Blood, and the

the being stripped naked, was drawn by the Hair through Thorns, and after fent away. o dut sool oo bad towns dut o was

An English Girl half hang'd, and fo bums Belly ripp dup, and his Entrails ubir

Six English hang'd by Florence Fitz-Pa-

trick, after Quarter given, 1641.

Near Kilfeckell, an English Man and his Wife, and four or five Children, hang'd by Command of Sir Morgan Kawanagh, and Mr. Robert Harpole; all afterwards cast into one Hole, the youngest Child (not fully dead) putting up the Hand, and crying Mammy, Mammy, yet buried alive.

Mary Harding put in the Stocks, and whipp'd to Death, and her Husband starv'd to Death by Florence Fitz-Patrick and his Followers after they had given him all their Goods in his Promise to releive them

and theirs.

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The County of Roscommon.

Sixteen English hang'd at Ballilegue, by

Oliver boy Fitz-Gerald of Ballilegue.

Nine murther'd at Ballinafad, whereof four were Children, and one Woman great with Child, through whose Belly the Rebels thrust their Pikes as she was hanging, because (as they said) the Child should not live:

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APPENDIX.

in Arblone. has annount described and

William Stewart had Collops cut off him being alive, Fire-Coals put into his Mouth, his Belly ripp'd up, and his Entrails wrapped about his Neck and Wrists.

The County of Sligh. is and his wife, and his wife, and by and by the Couldren, hang'd by

Mr. Thomas Stewart, Merchant, and feven and thirty Protestants put into the Goal of Sligo, all except two or three murther'd there the same Night, by divers breaking in upon them at Midnight, for Proof whereof see the Examinations of

of Stigo.

Elizabeth Beard was killed in the River

A Fryar with some Soldiers undertaking to conduct Mr. Thomas Walker, a Minister, his Man, and two Gentlewomen, from Roferk to Abbeboyle, the Fryar riding away, they fell into an Ambush laid for them, where Mr. Waller (being on his Knees at Prayer) they cleft his Skull to his Mouth, kill'd his Man, and stripped the Women, one of which was afterwards nurthered at Ballymoate.

dren, murther'd and destroy'd near Ballyse-kerry.

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Mr. William Ollifant Clerk, stripp'd half naked at Temple-house, and after dragg'd with a Rope about his Neck at a Horse-Heels up and down, because he would not turn Papist; another Minister at the same time murther'd, 1641.

At Ardneglas and Skreen about thirty Protestants, Men, Women, and Children,

murther'd.

Ten Men, Women, and Children, buried alive near Titemple or Temple-house.

In Sligo the Rebels forced one Lewis the younger to kill his Father, and they hang'd the Son.

The County of Tipperary.

January, 1641. fifteen Men, Women, and Children, Protestants, murther'd in Cashell, and near Cashell three or tour Children murther'd by a Convoy.

Four and twenty English (after they had revolted to the Mass) murther'd at the

Silver Mines. ni bas as b'assorb b'isda

James Hooker Gent. and Mr. John Stuckley and six more murther'd on Sir Richard Everet's Land; Mr. Richard Walker and ten more hang'd at Rathell. George Crassford and above fifty more murther'd. Joyce, a Maid of Mr. Walker's, buried alive; Mr. Carr, Mr. Carter, and some eighteen more, hang'd and murther'd near Cashell; Mr. Y 3 Dash(

APPENDIX

Dalbwood (to whom the Rebels gave Quarter and Convoy to Michaels-town) by one Prender-gast-Prender, murther d on his own Land.

The County of Tyrone.

Robert Bickerdick and his Wife drown'd in the Black Water; Thomas Carlifle put to Death; January Carlifle and his Wife also murther'd; and so were about ninety seven more.

The Murther of Mr. John Mather and Mr. Blyth (both Clerks) in or near Dungannon, though Mr. Blyth had Sir Phelim O Neil's Protection; and fixty Families of the Town of Dungannon murther'd.

to Colrain, by Direction from Sir Phelim O Neil and Firlagh his Brother.

In and about Dungamon three hundred and fixteen murther'd; between Charlemont and Dungamon about four hundred murther'd; drown'd at, and in the River of Benburb and Blackwater, 206.

Thirteen murther'd one Morning by Patrick mac Green of Dungannon; two young Rebels did murther in the County of Tyrone one hundred and forty Women and Children; the Wife of Bryan Kelly of Logbgall murther'd five and forty with her own Hands.

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At a Mill-pool in the Parish of Killamon, were drown d in one Day three hundred.

Eighteen Scotch Infants hang'd on Clothiers Tenterhooks; and one young fat Scotchman murther'd, and Candles made of his Grease; another Scotchman's Belly ripp'd up, and the end of his small Guts tied to a Tree, then he drawn about till his Guts were pulled out, that they might try (said they) whether a Dog's or a Scotchman's Guts were longest.

The County of Westmeath.

In Kilbeggan a Boy and Two Women hang'd, one of them having a sucking Child, desired it might be buried with her, knowing it would suffer afterwards, but it was cast out and starved to Death.

William Sibthorp, Parish-Clerk of Mollingar hang'd; Edmund Dalton and Mr.

Moorehead's Son murther'd.

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The County of Wickloe.

Edward Snape, and two others hang'd, (Nov. 1641.) in Knockrath-Park.

John the Son of William Leeson stripp'd

and hang'd at Balligarny, Nov. 1641.

A young Child of (a Year and Quarter old) the Deponent's taken from her Back,

APPENDIX

thrown and trodden upon, that it died, the Mother and three other Children stripp'd naked, so as the said Children died; this was done upon the Lands of Bordkillamore about the 11th of November 1641.

of his Gredies, another Scotchman's 1898 tipp'd up, and the ead of his finali Guts teed, to a Tree, their he drawn about till his True's were pushed out, that they might by (laid they) whether a Dog's or a Scotchman is Guts were longed.



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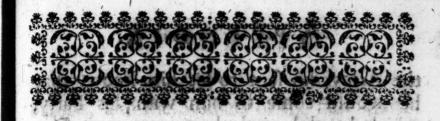
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The County of Wicklos.

A. desired Smale and two others hanged, [Vern 1964.] in Amoricant-Pairs.

From the Son of William Les's things desired and at Balbagaras, Nov. 1941.

A voting Child of (a Tear and Cuarter old) the Deponent of the Son from test Back,



A COLLECTION of some of the Massacres and Murthers committed on the Irish in Ireland, since the 23d of October 1641,

County of Antrim.

Bout the beginning of November, the English and Scots Forces in Chockfergus murthered in one Night,

all the Inhabitants of the Territory of the Island Gee, to the Number of above Three Thousand Men, Women, and Children, all innocent Persons, in a Time when none of the Catholicks of that County were in Arms or Rebellion. Note, that this was the first Massacre committed in Ireland of either side.

a small Fortress in the said County, to preserve Himself and his Followers from Outrages, until he had understood what the Cause of the then Rebellion was; as soon as Colonel Campbel came near with Part of

the

the Army, he fent to let him know, that he would come to him with his Party, which he did, and they were next Day murthered to the Number of eighty, by Sir John Clothworthy, now Lord Maffelin, his Soldiers. 1 1910 1910

About the same time a hundred poor Women and Children were murthered in one Night, at a Place called Balliaghiun, by Direction of the English and Scots Officers commanding in that County.

County of Derry.

1641. Some three hundred Men. Women, and Children of the Irish, having freely come under the Protection of the Garrison of London Derry, were stripp'd, plundered and killed by the faid Garrison.

1644. Mr. Morris, Mr. Daniel, Natural Son to the late Earl Antrim, was hanged at Cochane by the Governour's Orders, notwithstanding he had Colonel Michael Jones a Arms or Rebellion. Note, that sale sid

County of Down.

the first Massacre committed in Iraland of

1641. The Burgesses and Inhabitants of the Town of Newry, meeting the English Army on their March to beliege the Caftle of the faid Town, were received into Protection, and after Quarter given to the

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Garrison of the said Castle, the said Inhabitants, and the Soldiers of the said Garrison, to the Number of five hundred and upwards, Men, Women, and Children, were brought on the Bridge of the Newry, and thrown into the River, and such of them as endeavoured to escape by swimming were murthered.

County of Donegal.

William Steward commanded the Gentry and Inhabitants of that County, to joyn with his Forces in Opposition to the Rebels, and accordingly they came to the Place appointed, where Captain Cunningham with a Party of the said Sir William's Regiment, under pretence of incorporating with them, sell upon the Inhabitants with his armed Soldiers, and killed very many of them, among whom were Owen Mac Sherney, Morris O Farey and Donnagh O Callan, Gentlemen of Quality and Estates.

About the same time Captain Flemming, and other Officers of the said Regiment, commanding a Party, smothered to Death two hundred and twenty Women and Children in two Caves.

About the same time the aforesaid Captain Cunningham, murthered about sixty three Women and Children in the Isles of Rosse.

1641.

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APPENDIX

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1641. The Governour of Letter Kenny, gathered together on a Sunday Morning 53 poor People, most of them Women and Children, and gauled them to be thrown off, the Bridge into the River, and drowned them all.

1641. In November, one Reading murthered the Wife and three Children of Shane O Morkgby in a Place called Ballikenny of Ramalton, and after her Death cut

off her Breaks with his Sword.

1641, 1642. The Garrisons of Rapho, Drombo, Lifford, and Castle-ragben, slaughtered no less than fifteen hundred of the poor neighbouring Inhabitants, never in Arms, and three Persons were chiefly noted among them for their barbarous Cruelty, by Name James Graham, Hemy Dugan, and Robert Cunningbam, commonly called the killer of old Women.

1641, 1642. About two Thousand poor Labourers, Women and Children, of the Barreny of Terbu were massacred by the Garrisons of Bellasbanny and Donegal; and Lieutenant Thomas Poe, an Officer among them, coming under Colour of Friendship to visit a Neighbour that lay sick in his Bed, and to whom he owed Money, carried anaked Dagger under his Cloak, which (whilst he seemed to bow towards the sick Man in a friendly manner, asking how he did) he thrust it into his Body, and told his

his Wife, her Husband should be not long-

Thousand Horse and Foot of his Majesty's Army, being deseated near Letter Kenny, by the English Rebels adhering to Cromwell, most of the principal Officers of the said Party taken Prisoners, in the Battle were killed in cold Blood, by Order of Sir Charles Coot late Lord of Montrath, notwithstanding they had Quarter from the Officers, who took them Prisoners.

tleman, having taken Langs in that Coun-

Magherneckle, killed four Labourers and a Woman, being under Protection.

Maptain Bromwel Governour of Clunes, meeting upon the Road with Mr. Charles O Connelly, a Gentleman living under his Protection, caused him to be that to Death.

Dundalk and Trim, killed no less than five hundred poor innocent Persons, Women and Children, in that County.

and the Legan, in their several Marches through that Country, slaughtered about two Thousand poor old Men, Women and Children, diagram and the children, diagram and children, diagram and company of the country of the

APPENDAX

Army, having taken an Illand defended by Lieutenant Colonel Patrick, Mr. Mahon for his Majesty, after killing the said Lieutenant Colonel and his Soldiers, put all the Women and Children to the Sword, to the Number of eighty, among whom a little pretty Child of six Years old, being spared by the Soldiers, was killed by Order of the said Colonel Barrows.

withflanding they had Quarter from the Officers, winnswall of votunes of Country of Coun

tleman, having taken Lands in that County some Years before the War, invited several of his Friends to come out of England, and live with him, who were all murthered in their Houses by the Army (only the said De la Pool, who was brought into the Town of Cavan, and there hanged) for no other Reason, but their being Roman Catholicks, and living among the Irish.

being Scotch, but Roman Catholicks, each of them above Seventy Years old, were plundered of their Goods, and stripp'd Naked, And all their Tenants, Servants, and all their Sons murthered.

In the same Year the English Forces in this County drowned six hundred Men,

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Women, and Children, in and about Butlers Bridge, no Murthers having been committed on any Protestants there, although in the Pamphlet lately Printed, several Murthers are said to be committed in that Place.

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there was a Mancher committed near committed near core Mance and committee and many) what

In this County few Murthers were committed by either fide; though the Libel faith. That about two hundred and fifty Protestants were murthered, whereof at Bellicke two hundred and twenty, whereas not one Person was murthered there, which the now Lady of Montrath can witness; her Ladyship, Sir Robert Hanna her Father, with many others being retreated thither for Security, were all conveyed fafe to Mannor Hamilton, and it is observable, that the faid Lady and the rest came to Mr. Owen O Rorrkes, who kept a Garrison at Drumabier for the Irish, before they came to Mannor Hamilton, whose Brother was Prisoner with Sir Frederick Hamilton, and the faid M. Rorrk having so many Persons of Quality in his Hand, fent to Sir Frederick to enlarge his Brother, and that he would convey them all fafe to him : Sir Frederick instead of an enlarging his Brother, hanged him the next Day after he received the Message, which might have well well provoked the Gentleman to a Revenge, if he had not more Humanity, than could be well expected upon such an Occasion, and in these of so great Confusion, yet he sent them all safe where they desired.

There was a Murther committed near the Moyn, on twenty feven Protestants, which was all (and that too many) that was committed in that County Buchanan, said to be buried alive, was killed in a private Quarrel, and he cut off his Adversaries Hand, before himself was killed.

County of Gallway, and Province of Connaght.

Anno 1642. Serjeant Redmond Burk, of the Lord of Clamporris his Foot Company, and two more, were hanged by the then Governour of the Fort of Gallway, the faid Lord being then of his Majesty's Army, for which Action no Reparation being given to his Lordship, he pretended it to be the Occasion of his Revolt from the Lord Marquels of Clamiccard.

Anno 1642. A Party of the Garrison of the said Fort, murthered six People in Rinveel, amongst whom one Geffery Fitz Thibot, aged about Seventy Years, and in a burning Fever, with his Wife who was old, were murthered in their Beds; which Acti-

on

on provoked many of the Neighbours to fland on their guard against the said Fort.

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Anno 52. Redmond Burke, a Colonel in his Majesty's Army, had Quarter given him by some of Colonel Goat's Men, he being taken in a Skirmish between Colonel Grace, and some of Cromwell's Party, and being Prisoner for some time, Colonel Henry Ingeliby caused his Head to be cut off.

Anno 52,53. It was an usual Practice with Colonel Stubbers then Governour of Gallway, and others commanding in the said County, to take the People out of their Beds at Nights, and sell them for Slaves to the Indies, and by Computation sold out of the said County above a thousand Souls of the said County above a thousand

Murthers committed in the said Country of Gallway on Protestants. bus

Anno 42. It is confelled, that two Protestants were murthered in that County,
whereof one was a Minister as the Libel
says, but it is most certain, that the Lord
Marquess of Clamiccard caused the three
Men, who murthered one of them, to be
hanged in Gibbets in three several Places,
and by his Lordship's Orders, Sir Roger O
Shaghness hanged the two Cow-heards who
murthered the other.

Anno

of Claumonis having declared against the said Fort, for hanging his Serjeant as above expressed, took Serjeant Rowleright, and two or three more of the Soldiers of the said Fort, pillaging a Village near Gallway, and hanged Rowleright, and the other three.

Justo is also confessed, that a barbarous Murther was committed by one Edmind Altu, an irreligious prophane Fellow of the County of Mayo, and his wicked Compliees on some Protestants at Shouth a Place meeting with the County of Gallavay, on about thirty Persons, and the Pamphleteer might well remember that the neighbouring Gentry came with all Expedition to rescue the said Protestants, and that they did rescue the Bishop of Killala (who by the Pumphler feems to have been murthered) and his Wife and Children, with the most Part of the faid Protestants; and Bryen Kilkenthy a Pryar, then Guardian of the Abby of Refs mean Shruel, was of the first that inside haste to that relicue, and brought the faid Bishop's Wife and Children, with several others of the faid diftreffed Protestants, to his Monastry, where they found as much Civility as was in the faid Fryar's Power to give them for deveral Nights, aintil Mr. Burk of Gaftle Hacket brought the faid Bishop, his Wife and Family to his own Anno House,

House, where they wanted nothing he could afford them for fome Weeks, the like being done by feveral other neighbouring Gentlemen to the rest of the faid Protellants, until they were fent to Places of Security, by the Lord Marquel's Clamiccard his Order, yet the faid Fryar hath been these eight Years past kept a Prisoner for his Function or Calling, without any other Crime laid to his Charge, new being above eighty Years of Age. Allo the laid Ge

And it is observable, that in this County of Gallway all the War Time feveral Protellant Ministers, viz. Dean York, Mr. Corroyn, Mr. Nelly, and other Ministers. had their Protestants Flocks and Meetings without Interruption, living amongst the Miles with him, effect being Friendly toler

by the full Covernous.

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County of Rescommon.

No Murthers were committed by any Party in this County, only five Persons at Bellanafada by one Roger O Conor; and no Murther was committed at Bellalegue during the War, although in the Pamphlet the contrary is expressed; nor no such Man as William Steward was known in that County, nor to have been been murthered there, though the Abstract sets forth his being minthered in a most barbarous man-

ed for Jome Days.

and gain an harmy of Leatrem. County of Leatrem.

like being done by leveral othering thbour-Anno 1641. It was commonly known to all fides, how cruel the Governour of Mannor Hamilton was in that County, how he usually invited Gentlemen to Dine with, him, and hanged them after Dinner, and cause their Thighs to be broke with Hatch-Crime Ind to his Cha noitugaxa erobet este

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Also the said Governour being in Ulster, when the Rebellion broke forth, defired one Mr. leaght (a Gentleman, who professed much Friendship to him) to do him the Favour to guide him in Safety to Mannor Hamilton aforesaid, which the Gentleman did, and came near upon a hundred Miles with him, after being Friendly treated for some Days by the said Governour, he hanged without the least Occasion; neither was the Gentleman in the Rebellion, but was hanged least he should. The Libel fays, three Protestants were murthered in this County, but on due Examination, it will be found three was none.

County of Sligoe.

as known, in that Here is none at this Time, who can give any exact Account of the Murthers committed in this County, but one remarkable Murther; that in Creanes Castle in the Town County

Town of Sligo, the Irish had a Party commanded by Major Richard Burke after obtaining Quarter for them to march away, to the Number of about two Hundred were murthered rendering the Castle; this Sir Audley Mercyne knoweth to be true.

the enobers the enobers of Dublin.

1641. About the beginning of November, five poor Men (whereof two were Protestants) coming from the Market of Dublin, and lying that Night at Santry, three Miles from thence, were murthered upon their Beds by one Captain Smith, and a Party of the Garrison of Dublin, and their Heads brought next Day in Triumph into the City, which occasioned Luke Nettervel and George King, and others of the Neighbours, to write to the Lords Justices to know the Cause of the said Murther, whereupon their Lordships issued forth a Proclamation, that within five Days the Gentry should come to Dublin to receive Satisfaction, and in the mean while (before the five Days were expired) old Sir Charles Coote came out with a Party, plundred and burned the Town of Clontraffe, distant two Miles from Dublin, belonging to the faid George King nominated in the Proclamation, and killed fixteen of the Townsmen and Women, and three suckns

ing Infants; which unexpected Breach of the Proclamation (having deterred the Gentlemen from waiting of the Lords Justices) forced many of them to betake themselves to their natural Desence, and others to abandon their Houses.

In the same Week fifty six Men, Women and Children, of the Village of Bullogge (being frighted at what was done at Clontroff) took Boats and went to Sea, to shun the Eury of a Party of Soldiers come out of Dublin, under the Command of Colonel Crafford, but being pursued by the Soldiers in other Boats, were overtaken and thrown overboard.

One Ruffel a Baker in Dublin coming out of the Countrey, in Company with Mr. Archbold of Clochram (who went to take hold of the faid Proclamation of the Lords Justices) were both hang d and quartered.

Garrison of Donsoghin, murthered seven or eight poor People in Protection, Tenants to Mr. Dillon of Hunstowne, having quartered in their Houses the Night before, and receiving such Entertainment as the poor People could afford.

About the same Time, a Party of the English quartered at Mallabyde, hanged a Servant of Mr. Robert Boynes at the Plough, and forced a poor Labourer to hang his own Brother, and soon after they hanged

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fifteen of the Inhabitants of Swoards, who never bore Arms, in the Orchard of Mallabyde, and hanged a Woman bemoaning her Husband hanged amongst them.

Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, to those of the Castle of Carriggmain, they were all put to the Sword, being about three hundred and fifty, most of them Women and Children, and Colonel Washington endeavouring to save a pretty Child of seven Years of Age, carried him under his Cloak, but the Child against his Will was killed in his Arms, which was a principal Motive of his quitting that Service.

fourteen Labourers, going with Corn to the Market of Dablin, and having a Pals, were all murthered upon the Road, by a Party commanded abroad by Lord Lambers. The fame Day Mr. Sanfield of Lucan, fent his Groom to guide the Lord of Gefil's Troop, which the Fellowhaving performed, was knocked on the Head for his Labour. The fame Day eighteen Villages in Protection, the furthest within his Miles to Dublin, were plundered and burned, and to the Number of four hundred Men. Women; and Children, were cruelly massacred.

About the same Time, a Party of the Garrison of Swoards, having brought in thirty poor Labourers, forced them to dig

their own Graves, and then killed them.

Much about that Time, one Benet, Sheriff of the County, kill'd fixteen Men and Women, coming from the Market of Dublin in May. A Party under the Command of Colonel Grafford, murthered one hundred forty Women and Children in New-castle and Goolmine, being under Protection.

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poor innocent People of that Gounty, thunning the Fury of the Soldiers, fled feveral times into Thickets of Firs which the Soldiers did usually Fire, killing as many as endeavoured to escape, or forced them back again to be burnt, and the rest of the Inhabitants for the most Part died of Famine

and three hundred Officers and Soldiers, taken Prisoners at the Defeat given his Majefty's Army before Dublin, were, after Quarter given, put to Death by Order of Co-

Idnel Michael Fones, oller and didid Coort

Mr. Wogan of Rathcoffy, having Quarter given him in the same time, by Captain Ottoway, was killed by Lieutenant Tomson, as he rid behind one of Ottoway's Troopers; and one Mr. Hiny, an aged Person, after dividing his Goods to the value of fifteen hundred pound among the Soldiers, was knocked in the Head, together with his Daughter, her Husband and sour Children, after Quarter.

Note, That no less than twelve thouland of the poor Inhabitants of that County, were cruelly massacred the first Year of the Warn of the energy countries, doing of

Living as could gather the goth Part of

fummoned thirty three Contributers to meet him at Hodgestowne, caused them all to be murthered.

Eustare, Aunt to Six Robert Talbot, ninety, Years old, (with two Gentlewomen that waited on her) after she entertained him Friendly in her House.

and Rathcoffy, yielding upon Quarter, were conveyed to Dublin and hanged there, and upwards of an hundred and fifty Women and Children, were found in the faid Places murthered.

Anno 51. Captain Hulet coming to Sir John Dongan's House at Castle Town, to search for a Priest, tortured a Child of Sir John's of seven Years of Age, with lighted Matches to force a Confession from him where the Priest was, and the poor Child not telling, or not knowing, Hulet hung him up with the Reins of his Bridle, but the Troopers when Hulet's back was turn'd, cut him down half Dead, whereof the Child died soon after.

APPENDIK.

It is well known, that the Commons of that County, were for the most Part destroyed and slaughtered by the English, in so much, that there were not so many less Living, as could gather the 20th Part of the Harvest

General desired for yando of having

Tullag Hanoge, fixty Years old, and fix Women more, were murthered by the Soldiers of the Garrison of Trum, and a blind Woman aged eighty Years, was incompatited with Straw by them, to which they fet Fire and so burnt her? The same Day they hanged two Women in Kilbride, and two old decrepit Men that begged Alms of them.

In the same Year, Mr. Water Dulin an old Man, unable to stir abroad many Years before the War, was killed in his own House, by Lieutenant Colonel Broughton's Troopers, notwithstanding the said Broughton's Protection, which the old Man produced.

Peace and Coram, an aged Man and Bedrid of the Palie long before the Rebellion, was carried in a Cart to Trim, and there hanged by the Governour's Orders.

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led in Philbert-Stowne by the Garrison at Bestive.

dren in Protection, reaping their Harvest in Bonestowne, were killed by a Troop of the said Garrison, who upon the same Day killed Mrs. Alson Read, at Donsaghiln, being eighty nine Years old; and forty Persons more, most of them Women and Children, shuming the Fury of the said Troop, were overtaken and slaughtered.

Children, Tenants to Mr. Francis Mac O Voy, and under Protection, were killed by Greenvil's Soldiers, and a hundred and fixty more in the Parish of Ratheoare, whereof there was an aged Couple blind fifteen Years before.

ers, murthered in and about Mulbuffey upwards of one hundred Men, Women and Children, under Protection, and caused one Conor Breslan to be stuck with a Knife into the Throat, and so bled to Death; and one Eleaner Cusaack, one hundred Years old, was tied about with lighted Matches, and so tortured to Death in Cunmogban.

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1642. James Dowlan about a hundred Years old, Donagh Comen, Derby Dennis, Roger Bolan, and leveral other Labourers

and

APRENDIXA

and Women to the Number of a hundred and fixty making their Harvest, were all flaughtered by the Garrison of Trim.

1642. Mr. Barneval of Tobertinian, and Mr. John Husseg, innocent Persons, were hanged at Trin by old Sir Charles Coote's the faid Carrison, who upon the same vires

1642. Gerrald Lynch of Donower, aged eighty Years, was killed by Troopers of Tring being in Protection of the flore error

Mr. Thomas Talbot of Crawlstowne, about eighty Years old, being protected, and a known Servitor to the Crown, (having been Lieutenant of Horse to the Lord of Hoath's Troop in the Battle of Kinfale, in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, was killed at his own Door, by some of Captain Marroe's there was an aged Couple blind qoorh

1642. About the Month of April, the Soldiers under the faid Greenvil's Command, killed invand about the Navan eighty Men, Women and Childrens who live t Children, under Protectionisstory rabing

1641. Captain Wentworth and his Company, garrifoned at Domno, killed no lefs than two hundred protected Persons in the Parish of Donamora Slane, and Barroni of Margellin, and Ownering other Town of Ardmulchan Kingstowne and Haristowne, all 1642. James Dowlen ducker Bergerorg

1642. Sir Richard Greenfield's Troop killed forty two Men, Women and Children, bas

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and eighteen Infants at Doramstowne.

by Captain Marrow's Soldiers put into the Stock of a Tuckmill and so tuckt to Death, in the Town of Steedalte.

Lieutenant Ponsonby put two aged protected Persons to Death at Downstone, each of them about eighty Years old.

Captain Marrow caused about an hundred protected Persons, Men, Women and Children, to be put to Death in the Barrony of Dooleek, and Lieutenant John Tench killed a protected Person seventy Years old near Dooleek.

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Mr. Patrick White, Son and Heir of Mr. White of Clangil, in Protection, was taken out of his Bed and knock'd on the Head, by Lieutenant Luaton of the Garrison of Trim.

Battle of Dongans-hill, were killed after Quarter given them, by Colonel Michael Jones, and many Irish Officers taken in the Battle, and deeply wounded were killed the next Day after, when they could not march on Foot.

Cromwell, the Slaughter of Men, Women and Children, continued there for four of five Days together in cold Blood, to the Number of about four thousand.

APPENDIX.

Many thousands of the poor inhabitants of this County were destroyed in the Firs, as those in the County of Dublin, and the rest for the most Part perished with Famine.

County of Westmeath.

Mr. Christopher Mac Gawley, notwithstanding the Protection of the Duke of Ormond, was killed in his own House with two of his Servants, by a Party of the English Army marching to Athlone, who laying the said Protection on the said Gawley's Breast, shot him through his Protection, to try whether it was Proof against a Bullet.

ving the Lord Justices Protection for her felf, and her Tenants, was plundered, and forty of the said Tenants, their Wives and Children were killed by Soldiers under Sir Michael Earnely's Command.

County of Louth.

three hundred poor People, Men, Women and Children, were cruelly flaughtered in the Wood of Deruer, by a Party of the Garrison of Dondalke and Tredath.

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about three hundred Farmers and Labourers never in Arms, with their Wives and Children, were massacred by a Party of the Garrisons of Dondalke and Tredath in Redmoore of Braganstowne.

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Townsy, and Lieutenant Faithful Townsy, with a Party of the English Army and Garrison of Doudalke, slaughtered at Dunmogham two hundred and twenty Inhabitants of several Villages, commanded by the Officers of the said Army to live in that Place for their greater Security.

A Party of the faid Garrison of Tredath and Doudalke, killed above two hundred Persons in the Castle of Reaghstowne, after Quarter given.

Drongole of Drongoolftowne at his own Gate; the faid Townshy hanged upward of thirty poor Men and Women, going to the Markets of Dundalke and Tredath, on a Tree commonly called eight Mile Bush mid-way between the said Towns.

Garrison of Tradath, kill'd and burnt in the Garrison of Tradath, kill'd and burnt in the Firs, above one hundred and fixty Men, Women, and Children, of the Inhabitants of Termonseighin, within three Miles of Tredath; no less than ten thousand of the poor Inhabitants of that County, though they are

are not taxed with any Murther committed on the Protestants, according to their own Abstract, were massacred in A min 1979 to

Children, were maffered by at Perry of the Gari-wolksi Wood yanuo Calaro an Redmone of Brazanfiana.

October 1641. Three Women, whereof one Gentlewomen big with Child, and a Boy, were hanged on the Bridge of Neuragh, by Command of old Sir Charles Coote in his first March to that County, and caused his Guide to blow into his Pistol, and so shot him Dead, he also hang'd a poor Butcher on the same March, called Thomas Mac William.

and unable to bear Arms, was roasted to Death by Captain Gee of Colonel Grafford's Regiment, and in all the Marches in 41, 42, 43, the English Army killed all they met in this County, though no Murthers are charged on the said County, to be committed on Protestants by the Abstract.

In the Usurper's Time Captain Barrington garrisoned at Arcklow, murthered Donnagh O Dayle of Killearrow, and above five hundred more protected by himself; and it is well known that most of the Commonalty were murthered.

1650. Mr. Birne of Munneg, a Gentleman of an inoffensive Demeanour being then d

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in Protection; the Governour of Carlos; marched with a Party to this County; the faid Birne came to him, and two of his Servants produced his Protection, notwithstanding which he and his two Servants were hanged, for no other Reason; than that the Gentleman had a great Stood of Horses and Mares, besides a good Stock of Cows, which were out of Hand feized on by the Governour and his Party!

County of Kilkenny.

1641. The English Soldiers of the Garrison of Ballenekil, burnt an old Woman of ninety Years old in her own House in Idough.

1642. The faid Soldiers maffacred a hundred eighty Men, Women and Children, who were cutting their Corn near the faid Garrison. They dragged Mr. Thomas Shee, an innocent Person, out of his own House with five of his Servants; and hanged them all at Ballenekil.

1650. Colonel Daniel Axtel cut off the Head of Mr. Fitz Gerret of Browneiford's Son, and hanged the Sons of Mr. Butler of Ballikify, and Mr. Butler of Beni'dstowne, because their Fathers inlisted themselves in his Majesty's Army.

One Francis Frisby an English Man and a Protestant, Butler to the Duke of Ormond, having

having had Quarter upon the Rendition of Kilkemy to Cromwell, was apprehended by the faid Colonel Axtel, and for not confeffing his Lord's Plate, was tortured to Death by burning Matches between his Fingers, in the Castle of Kilkenny.

Majesty's Army having delivered the Castle of Ballimay, upon Quarter of Life and Liberty to Colonel Axtel, was run through the Body by the said Colonel, and all his Soldiers to Number of one hundred and ninety were killed.

of Horse in his Majesty's Army, coming to Kilkenny upon a safe Conduct, was hang'd by the said Axtel, because he had a good Estate within two Miles of Kilkenny.

Estate within two Miles of Kilkenny.

1650. Colonel Antel hanged sitty of the Inhabitants near Thomastown, living under his Protection, for no other Reason, but that a Party of Gronwell's Army was defeated the Day before in that Place, by some of the Royalists.

Colonel Axtel meeting one Day forty Men, Women and Children, near the Wood of Kildonan, who were coming for greater Security to live within his Quarters, cauled them all to be killed.

Some Soldiers of the King's Army being taken in a Village in Grace's Parish, Colonel Axtel caused all the Inhabitants of the said

faid Village to be apprehended, hanged three of them, and fold the rest to the Bar-badoes.

creation) commanded his Troops to gather together a great Number of the protected People near Kilkenny, and being all in a Cluster, bid the Troopers rush through them, and to kill as many as happened on the left Hand of the Troop, and to spare the rest, thirty Persons were murthered then on that Account.

County of Wexford.

Iniferrity into the Barronies of Ballaghtene and Goury, murthered a hundred poor Labourers, in Protection, and five hundred Women and Children, whom he caused to be lock'd up in their own Houses, commanding his Soldiers to set Fire unto them, and one Woman having escaped out of a House, was killed, and her Belly barbarously ripp'd up, others thrust their sucking Babes out of the Windows, hoping that their Innocency might beget Pity in the Soldiers, who by their Colonels Command received the poor Infants upon the Heads of their Pikes, and thrust them back into the Fire.

his several Marches into the Barronies of
A a 2

Bel-

Bellaghkene and Skarawalh, murthered upwards of three hundred Men, Women and Children under Protection, yet the Wife and Children of this Cook (notwithstanding all his barbarous Cruelties committed against the King's Subjects, and having always eminently appeared against his Majesty and his Royal Father) have been fo well befriended, as to be provided for by special Name in his Majesty's Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. 19 which for one

1650, 1651. Captain Thomas Barrington murthered no less than three hundred Men, Women and Children under Protection, in the Barronies of Goury and Bellaghkene.

1650. The faid Barrington killed fifty Women and Children at a Place called Layen; he was so noted through Cromwell's Army for his Cruelty, that they called him

Barrington kill all.

The above Colonel Cook caused twenty two of Sir Walter Dongan's Men, taken at the Fight at Clonigal, to be killed after Quarter given, and one Captain Birne of his Majesty's Army wounded in the Fight, and much made of by some of Gook's Men, who took him Prisoner, was soon after Rript and killed. Major Thomas Hart forced a Country

Fellow under Protection to leap into the River Bana, and took Pleasure to see him his feveral Marches into the

drowned.

Bel.

Pretty's Regiment, flaughtered about two hundred and fifty Men, Women and Children under Protection, in the said Barronies of Skarawallh, Bellaghkene Bantry and Gillmalere.

Castle Kirk to nine Soldiers, who after delivering their Arms were slaughtered by his Order.

the Lord of Galmoy, and Captain of Horse in his Majesty's Army, being taken Prisoner in the Fight at Lampstowne, was killed in cold Blood, and after Quarter by the said Bolton.

ran, who collected his Contribution, at his own Door, and one of his Servants to keep him Company.

1651. Nicholas Lenagh, a Man known to be Frantick, was killed in his own House,

by the faid Bolton's Orders.

ACLULIA A

Daniel Birne and Morogh Redmond were murthered in their Houses by Captain Barrington, they being in Protection, and Collectors of the Contribution.

upon the Road with Mr. Phillip Hill a Gentleman of his Acquaintance, and his Collector in the Barrony of Ballaghkene, hanged him on the next Tree.

Aa 3

Not-

Massacres acted upon the Inhabitants of this County, it is observable that by the late Pamphlet, and all the Papers that have been published to that Subject, they could not say one English Man was murthered in that County, since the Rebellion.

County of Tipperary.

and Captain Peafely murthered elven Men, Women and Children, in their own Houses at Golden Bridge, before any of the Catho-

licks took up Arms in that County.

About the same time the said Captain Peasely going through Cloneulty, Phillip Ryan a peaceable Gentleman, and Owner of the said Town, came out of his House to salute the Captain, who pulled out his Pistol and shot the poor harmless Gentleman Dead at his own Door.

Note, That thele two Murthers occasioned the rising of the Gentry and Inhabi-

tants of that County.

English Soldier came several times in Womens Attire upon the Road, and committed divers Murders upon simple Countrey People coming from the Market.

led by some of the Irish Army, Colonel

Feremy

Jeremy Sankey summoned all the Inhabitants of the Parish wherein he was killed, being under his Protection, to come to Fethered, where he put them to the Dice, and hanged five of them.

One Lieutenant Mac. Gragh of his Majesty's Army, being taken Prisoner by Captain John Godfrey, was five Days after hanged in the Town of Fethered by Colonel Sankey, notwithstanding the said Godfrey's Protection to have given him Quarter.

dren in Protection, were murthered at Tullow by Major Elias Green and his Party, and one of the Troopers refusing to kill a Woman big with Child, by Name Elizabeth Cugly, was wounded by the said Major, who thrust his own Sword through the Woman's Bowels.

Within a while after, thirty Women and Boys, ready to starve, and digging of Puttatoes in their own Gardens in the said Village of Tullo, were all killed by Orders of the said Major Green.

Gerald of his Majesty's Army, were tied to a Tree, and shot to Death by some Officers of Cromwell's Army after Quarter given.

Mockler a protected Person, and also a

A a 4 Woman

APPENDIX.

Woman big with a Child, faying he did it least she should be delivered of a Tray-tor.

Major Bolton, killed in the Highway, near Thurles one Phillip Pursel, an honest

Gentleman in Protection.

Major William Moor murthered upon the Highway near Thurles a Servant of Mr. John Bryan's, carrying Provision to the

Lady of Thurles.

Wonian

Protection, was dragg'd out of his own House by the said Captain John Godfrey, and brought to Cahirr where he was hanged next Day.

165 1. Sixteen Soldiers of his Majesty's Army taken Prisoners by Colonel Abott's Troops near Nenagh, were all killed by

them after Quarter given.

ter promised, was by Colonel Abott's Command hanged three Hours by the Heels from the Battlement of the Castle of Nemagh, and next Day hanged by the Neck until he died.

brought a Labourer out of Mr. Grace of Clogh Pricry his House, to shew them the way, cut off his Head within a Musket shot to the House.

Two Labourers thrashing of Corn in-Ballinanan were killed by Captain Barker.

ln

In the Year 1650. David Walls, Esq; about eighty Years old, was murthered by Major Morgan, now Sir Anthony Morgan, in the Road between Clonmel and Waterford; and one of the said David's Daughters, endeavouring to preserve her Father, was murthered over him; and a Grandchild of the said David's, seven Years of Age, then in the Company, was murthered by the said Sir Anthony's own Hands.

The Troopers having absolutely refused to kill him; and several other of the said David's Kindred, were murthered for no other Cause, but that his Children and Relations were active in defending Clonnel for his Majesty against Cronwell; and for his Son John Wallb, Esq; his attending on the Lord Lieutenant in order to his Majesty's

Service.

No less than five hundred poor Labourers and Women were hang'd at Clonmel, and other Garrisons in this County; guilty of no other Crime, but being found within the imaginary Lines, drawn by the Governors of the several Garrisons in the said County.

A Woman big with Child, having in Presence of all the People the Child stirring in her Womb, was hang'd by Colonel

Richards at Clonnel.

was for a tother

man of a by the faid of reduction.

County

County of Clare.

in the Year idea. Buril William 1-

1644. Forty Families in Protection were

murthered by the Garrisons of Inchicronan. 1646, Several reliding near Burratty, were murthered by the Soldiers of that Garrison, under Command of Lieutenant-Col. Adams.

1651. Sir Hardress Waller, and Col. Ingoldsby, commanding two Parties into the Barrouny of Bueren, then under Protection, kill'd in one Day, upwards of eight bundred Men, Women, and Children; and meeting with Squire Donogh O Bryan, an aged Gentleman, and protected by the faid Waler, they lock'd him up in a Country-house, to which they fet Fire, and burnt him to Death.

1651. The laid Colonel's Troop of Dragoons murthered in the Town of Quenne

thirty aged and poor Perfons. Date

1651. The faid begoldsby, after giving Quarter to nine Soldiers of his Majesty's Army, and a Week's Imprisonment, hang'd them.

1651. The faid Ingoldily's Men kill'd about a thousand poor Labourers, Women, and Children, in the Barronies of Corokromroe and Inchiquin, being all under his Protection. Captain Puerefoy, and other Officers, commanded by the faid Ingoldsby,

mur-

murthered upward of a hundred Men, Women and Children, in the Barronies of Bunratty and Tullagh, protected by the faid Colonel.

Captain Stafe, and Captain Apers, under the Command of the faid Ingoldsby, murther'd no less than five hundred Families in Protection in the Barronies of Island I Brackane Chandarala and Moyfarta.

they were surfeited of killing, made it an ordinary Practice to bridle the poor People, Men and Women, to tye them to their Horses Tails, like Beasts, and sell them to the Barbadoes.

County of Lymerick.

Anno 1651. The said Colonel Ingoldsby being one Day with a Party in the Territory of Cleanlish, slaughtered upward of five hundred Men, Women, and Children, all under his Protection.

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goons, murthered in one Day about three hundred protected Persons in the Territory of Tullagh-bill.

County of Kiery.

of Dunkueren, being ordered by Lieute-

nant-Colonel Nelson, then Governour of the County for Cromwell, to remove with their Goods and Cattle, for their greater, Security, were met by the faid Nelson, Major Peppard, Captain Thomas Barrington, Captain Haffet, and other Officers, with a Party of Horse, and under Colour, to secure their removal; and on a suddens upon a Sign given, the Soldiers fell upon the poor People, and killed upwards of three hundred Men, Women, and Children: The Cruelty of Barrington and Hafset in that Massacre was remarkable, caufing many Women to be shamefully stripp'd naked, and afterwards most inhumanly butcher'd; the Fingers of fuch as wore Rings to be cut off, and the Babes and Infants to be told on Pikes and Halberts, in light of their dying Parents.

his Protection under Hand and Seal to Tecis Morcarty and Conor Mac Donogh, Catholick Priests, until their Transportation for Flanders, by a Time limitted; before half that Time was expired, apprehended the faid Priests, and hang'd them with their Protection in their Hands.

Peter Cary, meeting with one Thomas O. Bryne, a Butcher by Trade, hang d him for

being fometime a Lay-Fryar.

yally I he Inhabitants of the Barrony

nant-

AIRPENDIA.

30年

Many hundreds of the poor People of that County, reduced by the Exaction and Cruelty of their Governours to a starving Condition, were by Nelfon's Orders, for smelling of Horse-Flesh, which they were necessitated to eat or starve, hangid.

faid, caused the Arm of a poor Woman to be, cut off with a Hatchet; and perceiving that she grasp'd with the other Hand a sucking Babe, she had at her Breast, he caused that Arm to be also cut off, and the Infant's Head dash'd against a Rock, in her Presence.

The faid Banington, caus'd a Lieutenant and some Soldiers of his Majesty's Army, taken Prisoners upon Quarter, to be stripp'd naked, and their Brains knock'd out with a Hatchet.

fuch Cuelty was used, that they liabbed young Infinished for their Mothers dead Carcalles. In the

three hundred Labourers, Women, and Children, were murtherd by fome of the now Earl of Orrory's Soldiers.

In the faid County amongst others, they guelded one Dennis Downey, and pull'd out one of his Eyes, and sent him in that Posture to his Wife bus become a vision of the property of the county of the c

abouts, were brought Prisoners to Caftle

APPENDIX.

Lyons (most of them Labourers, who did never bear Arms) were pur into a Stable, and the Women in that Garrison at Night fired their Beards and the Hair of their Heads, which so disfigured them, and burnt them, that their nearest Priends could not know them next Day, when they were hanging.

- Anno 42. In the fame County, three hundred fifty five Persons, Men, Women and Children, were murthered with Clubs

and Stones, being in Protection. Jant Deliver

Ann. 42. Mr. Henly, an English Geneleman, dwelling in Roche's Country, but a
Roman Catholick, had his Wife and Children barbarously stripp'd, and most of his
Tenants inhumanly murthered by adjacent
English Gamisons; he the said Henly, nor
his Tenants, being never in Arms; and
such Cruelty was used, that they stabb'd
young Infants, and left them so half Dead
on their Mothers dead Carcasses. In the
said Henly's Town, and in the adjacent
Villages, at that time, there were murthered about nine hundred Labourers, Women
and Children.

Ann. 43. Cloglegh being Garrisoned by the Irifb, and furrendred upon Quarter of Life, to Sir Charles Vanafor, were all inhumanly murthered, and the Hearts of some of them pulled out and put into their Months; and many other Massacres were

com-

committed the same time there on Women and Children.

Am. 43. At Liflee, twenty four Men in Protection, were murthered by Colonel Myan's Soldiers, qualities tills Who all and

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Tanky,

At Beallauere, the fame Year, Teig, O Mungan and David Broge, blowing by Command into Piltols, were that to Death by fome of Captain Bridge's Men and eight poor Labourers more were killed by them being in Protection, and then employed in laving some Harvest of English.

Anno 42. At Gogheinty, about two hundred thirty eight Men, Women and Children were murthered, of which Number, leventeen Children were taken by the Legs, by Soldiers, who knock'd out their Brains against the Walls; this was done by Phorbis's Men, and the Garrison of Bandon

Bridge.
Ar Garranne, near Ross, Conor Kinedy, who had Protection for himself and his Tenants, to fave their Harvest, were murthered by the said Garrison of Ross, as they-

were ditching about their Com.

Annu 41. At Bandon Bridge, the Garrifon there, tied eighty eight frishmen of the faid Town Back to Back, and threw them off the Bridge into the River, where they were all drown d.

Anno 50. At Shiell, there were forty Labourers, with Women and Children,

put

put on the Edge of a great Clift over the Sea, a Rope being drawn about them, with fix Soldiers on each end, and so thrown into the Sea and drowned. This was done by Major Wallis and his Party, who about the same time murthered in the West of Carbery, upwards of eight hundred Men, Women and Children.

Anno 41. Patrick Hacket, Master of a Ship in Waterford; the Dutchels of Ormand being desirous to be convey'd by him to Dublin, after leaving her safe with her Family and Goods there, the Lords Justices and the Duke of Ormand gave him a Pass for his safe return; who being driven by a Storm into Dungarvan, the said Master and all his Men were hanged by Direction of the Commander in Chief there, porwith standing he produced his laid Pass.

Anno 47. Sir Alexander Mac Donnel, a known eminent Servitor to his late Majefty in the Wars of Scotland, was murthered

by Major Purdome, after Quarter.

Anno 5 t. Charles Mac Carty of Killmydy, being in a Party with Colonel Phayre at the Grate of his Castle; Colonel Ingoldsby rides up to the Grate with a span'd Pistol, and shot him Dead; at which Action the said Phayre was much distatisfied, being Commander in Chief of that Party.

Anno 4t. The English Party of this County, burn'd O Sulevan Beare's House in

Bantry,

Bantry, and all the rest of that Country, killing Man, Woman and Child, turning many into their Houses then on Fire to be burnt therein, and amongst others, Thomas de Bucke a Cooper about eighty Years old, and his Wise being little less; and all this was done without Provocation, the said O Sulevan being a known Reliever of the English in that Country. Observe that this County is not charged in the late Abstract with any Murthers.

County of Waterford.

Anno 41. In Decy's Country the neighbouring English Garrisons of the County of Cork, after burning and pillaging all that Country, they murthered above three thousand Persons, Men, Women, and Children, before any Rebellion began in Munster, and led a hundred Labourers Prisoners to Caperquine, where being tied by Couples were cast into the River, and made Sport to see them drowned. Observe that this County is not charged with any Murthers to be committed on Protestants.



A form



The Information of the Marquess of Antrim.

Y Lord of Antrim, by Letters, earnestly pressing to a Conference with us, whose Names are under-written, being then at the Camp of Killahan in the County of Meath, there was a Meeting with his Lordship asfented unto, and accordingly we this Day, being the 9th of May, 1650, met him at Miltown between Killahan and Killehan in the faid County, where and when amongstother Discourses, and particularly concerning a Commission, supposed to have been by the late King given to the Irish for their riling and acting, as they have done in Ireland on the 23d Day of October, 1641. and after he the faid Lord of Antim faid, That he knew nothing of any such Commission, but that the late King before the faid rifing of the Irish in Ireland, sent one Thomas Bourk, Kiniman to the Earl of Clanrickard, to the Lord of Ormand, and to him the Lord of Antrim, with a Message, That it was the King's Pleasure and Command, that those eight

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eight thousand Men raised by the Earl of Strafford in Ireland, should be continued without disbanding, and that they should be made up twenty thousand, and that they should be armed out of the Store of Dublin, and imployed against the Parliament; and particularly that the Castle of Dublin should be surprized and secured: Which the said Lord of Antrim's Discourse, in Substance aforesaid, was delivered at the Time and Place before mentioned, in the Presence of us,

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Signed,

John Reynolds, Henry Clogher.

The 11th of May 1650, another Meeting was given by us under-named, to the Lord of Antrim at the aforefaid Place, when and where amongst other Discourses, and in pursuance of that formerly by his Lordship delivered, of the King's Instructions concerning the rising of the Irish in Ireland, the Lord of Antrim surther added, That the Letters of Credence by the late King to Thomas Bourk before mentioned were in Substance as solloweth.

"Thomas Bourk, you are to repair to "Ormond and Antrim in Ireland, who are Bb 2 "to

" to give Credit to what you are to fay to them from Us.

self are builded to be the

Who A year but the contraction G. R.

Which Letter of Credit being by the faid Bourk shewed to Ormond, and to him the Lord of Antrim, he the said Bourk declared the King's Pleasure concerning the said eight thousand Men, and what is before particularly mentioned in his Lordship's Discourse on the 9th Instant, which we the Subscribers have read, the same in Substance being repeated to us by the Lord

of Antrim.

The faid Lord of Antrim further faid in our Presence, That after the Declaration to the Lord of Ormand, and to him the Lord of Antrim made by the faid Bourk of the King's Pleasure as aforesaid, they, the Lords of Ormond and Antrim, endeavoured a Meeting with each other for ordering Affairs accordingly; but there being (as they supposed) jealous Eyes over them, they could not for a time compass it conveniently; he faid that in the Parliament then fitting at Dublin, they would often take occasion to retire into the withdrawing Room, belonging to the Lords House of Parliament, in the Castle of Dublin, but being followed by others they had not their Conveniency for Discourse which they defired. That having appointed a Meet-

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ing at the Bowling-Alley in the Collegegreen in Dublin, they would there fometimes exchange some Words ; but having at length gained a fit Opportunity for a Meeting, after some Debates, it was by them concluded, That present Dispatch should be made and fent to the King of that resolved on for his Service. Ormand asking Antrim, Whom he would employ in that Business to the King? He answered, that he would fend the Lord Macguire: And I, faid Ormond, will fend over my Lord of Muskery; and a time being appointed for preparing the faid Dispatches, they then parted; but after some Days Ormond again meeting with him, the Lord of Antrim told him that Dublin was no convenient Place for their Business, that therefore the Lord of Ormond would retire into the Country for preparing of the faid Difpatches, desiring him, the Lord of Antrim, to meet him, at a time appointed at Kilka in the County of Kildare belonging to the late Countels-Dowager of Kildare; whither Ormond faid he would come on Pretence of a hawking Recreation, and that there they might Discourse of all Things freely: That the time of meeting drawing nigh, and the Lord of Antrim prepared for it, he was therein prevented by a Mesfage from Ormond, wherewithal Colonel John Barry was fent, intimating that the Bb 3 Lord

Lord of Ormand having confidered of the Business, he conceived it convenient that one of them two fhould repair to the King immediately, rather than so great an Atfair should be trusted by any other: That for himself he faid, that being a Stranger at Court, his going thither could not be without Suspicion, but that he the Lord of Antrim might pass freely, earnestly defiring him to undertake the Work: But he the Lord of Antrim refused, saying, He would not go if Ormond would not go alfo; yet was the Lord of Antrim, by the pressing Solicitation of Colonel Barry aforefaid, perswaded to send some one from himself to the King, for intimating what was refolved for his Service, and fignifying the already disbanding those eight thoufand Men raised in Ireland by the Earl of Strafford. This Dispatch was sent by Captain Digby, Constable of the Castle of Dunluce in the North of Ireland belonging to the Lord of Antrim: With those Dispatches the faid Digby did overtake the King at York, he being then on his way to Scotland, and from York was Digby returned back to him the Lord of Antrim by the King, fignifying his Pleafure, That all possible Endeavours should be getting again together those eight thousand Men so disbanded; and that an Army should immediately be raised in Ireland, that should declare for him

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him against the Parliament of England, and to do what was therein necessary and convenient for his Service. Upon receiving this the King's Pleasure by Captain Dighy, he the Lord of Antrim imparting the Defign to the Lord of Gomnonflown, and to the Lord of Slane, and after to many others. in Leinster, and after going into Ulster he communicated the fame to many there; but the Fools (fuch was his Lording's Expression to us) well liking the Business, would not expect our time or manner for ordering the Work, but fell upon it without us, and fooner, and otherwise than we should have done, taking to themselves, and in their own way, the managing of the Work, and so spoiled it. It being by us demanded of his Lordship, how he intended it should be managed? He answered, That the Castle of Dublin being then to be surprized, if the Lords Justices should oppose the Design, the Parliament then fitting should declare for the King against the Parliament of England, and that the whole Kingdom should be raised for the King's Service; and that if the Lords Justices would not join in the Work, they should be fecured, and all others who would or might oppose them should be also secured. Which Discourse was freely made by his Lordship without any Caution given us therein of Secrecy; yet was it B b 4 de-

APPENDIX.

demanded by us, Whether his Lordship would give us leave to have the fame fignified to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to the Lord President of Munster? His Lordship answered, That he gave us free Liberty fo to do, which his Lordship's Discourse, we have for our better Remembrance reduced to Writing, and testified the same under our Hands, to be as aforefaid.



Having feen and read this Paper containing the Particulars of a Conference between Me and the Lord of Clogher, and Colonel Reynolds, and between me and the said Lord of Clogber, and Mr. Henry Owen, I do hereby acknowledge it to be the same in Substance with what passed, excepting where it is faid, that Captain Digby was by the late King returned with a Dispatch to me, whereas the Dispatch was sent to me from the King by one William Hamerstone: And whereas it is said, that the faid late King appointed, that the Army with us to be continued and raifed in Ireland, should be employed against the ParParliament; it is to be intended, if occasion should be for so doing. And I do hereby aver the Truth of all so delivered, with the other Corrections and Qualifications thereunto added: Witness my Hand this August the 22d, 1650.

ANTRIM.

Observations on the Marquess of Antrim's Information.

Issue it expressly clears the King from giving any Commission for the Irish Rebellion, nor is there any Thing in it that can charge his Majesty with the least Thought or Intention, that his Protestant Subjects in Ireland should be either plundered or murdered; nevertheless when an unthinking Reader sinds, that the Castle of Dublin was to be surprized, he runs away with the Notion, that the Irish Conspiracy was pursuant to that Order, and the King was in the bottom of that barbarous Rebellion: And this perhaps was one design of this Information; but the chief end of it was to abuse the World with a Belief, that

the King was not necessitated to a War with the Parliament by any Thing then newly happened in 1642, but that he projected it long before, and had made this Preparation to put it in Execution.

Secondly, This Information cannot be true, but either Antrim deceived the World, or Bourk imposed upon him; for besides that Ormond and Antrim was unsit to be joyned in a Commission, as well because there were never any good Understanding between them, as also because they were of different Religions and Interests; how much more obvious, and easy, less scandalous and more essectual would it have been for the King to have made Ormond Lord Deputy, than to order him to surprize the Castle and the Lords Justices?

Moreover, these twelve Thousand additional Men, could not have been raised without Noise and Time, nor kept without Money, nor armed at all, for these were not twelve Thousand Arms in the Store, 23d Octob. and yet eight Thousand of them were the Arms of the disbanded Men, which they were to keep on Foot.

But it is yet more strange, that before any Breach with the Parliament, and whilst Matters tended to an Accommodation more hopefully than in some Months before.

fore, the King should by such a rash and imprudent Action administer such Cause of Jealousy to the Parliament at so unseasonable a time, whilst he was absent in Scotland, as would certainly put the Kingdom of England in a Flame, and lose his Majesty the Hearts and Hands of more English Cavaliers, than he could gain of Irish Men.

But to put this Matter out of doubt, the King long before he went to York (which was in the middle of August) knew the Irish Army would be disbanded, and therefore consented to licence four Regiments to be levied out of them for the Service of the King of Spain, as appears by the following Letter copied from the Original.

ORMOND,

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Have taken this Occasion by the recommending the Son of one of my faithful Servants, to assure you that I very much esteem you, and that I do but seek an Occasion to shew it you by more than Words, as I commanded the Vice-Treasurer to tell you more fully, and in particular concerning the Blue Ribband, of which you may be consident; only I desire you not to take any Notice of it until I shall think it sit. The Particular for this Bearer, George Porter, is to permit him to make up a Regiment of this disband-

APPENDIX.

ed Army, if he can do it by Perswasion, to carny them out of the Country for the King of Spain's Service; this is all: So I rest,

Whitehall, the

Your affured Friend,

CHARLES R.

Moreover, how much the King was furprized with the Irish Rebellion, will also appear in his Letter to the Marquess of Ormond, whom Antrim himself confesses to be a Trustee, and therefore we may be sure the King wrote sincerely to him.

12 901 - Will

ORMOND,

Hough I am forry for this Occasion I have to send unto you, which is the Sudden and unexpected Rebellion of a great and considerable Part of Ireland, yet I am glad to have so faithful and able a Servant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in so Important a Business: This is therefore to defire you to accept that Charge over this, which you lately had over the former Army, the which though ye may have some Reason to excuse (as not being so well acquainted with this Lord Lieutenant as you was with the last) yet I am confident that my Desire, and the Importance of the Business, will easily overcome that Difficulty, which laid afide for my Sake,

sake, I shall accept as a great renewed Testimony of that Affection which I know you have to my Service; So referring what I have else to say to Captain Weem's Relation, I rest,

Edinb. 31.

Your most assured Friend,

CHARLES R.

Lastly, The Credential which Bourk had was not until the 8th Day of February, 1641. And that the Reader may see the bottom of this Intriegue, I have added it verbatim, copied from the Original.

ORMOND,

Bearer, Mr. Bourk, I have thought fit not only to recommend him to you, but also to tell you, that I have commanded him to impart to you, what I have not time to write, which I think will much conduce to the reducing of the Rebels, which I know none desires more than your self; and so I rest.

Windsor, Feb, Your most assured Friend, 8. 164!.

CHARLES R.

FINIS.

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